

# Correspondence

## College Support

EDITOR: Your editorial asks "Do Catholics Support Their Colleges?" (3/12). Sixty-six per cent of Xavier alumni answer with a thumping YES. The American Alumni Council's last report shows that this places our alumni fourth in the nation in percentage of graduates contributing to alma mater. Only Princeton, Dartmouth and Mount Holyoke outrank us—and wait till next year!

WILLIAM J. PARENTE

Xavier University  
Cincinnati, Ohio

## Catholics and Science

EDITOR: It seems a shame that the good done by Fr. Ernan McMullin's excellent article on "Science and the Catholic Tradition" (12/12/59) should be partly undone by your Comment, "Science Is a Sacred Cow" (2/27).

The tone of this comment was set by its title and it reflects much of the misunderstanding and mistrust of science found in Anthony Standen's book of that name. Many Catholic publications seem to feel obliged never to mention science unless they have something bad to say about it. I sincerely believe that this attitude is in great part responsible for the fact that Catholic scientists are, as F. Sherwood Taylor has said, "lamentably few and regrettably inarticulate" today.

Many scientists would agree with Prof. Michael Polanyi's criticisms of scientific rationalism which inspired your Comment. But there seems to be a coloring of his views as they appear in your pages. Certainly "taking pot shots at the sacred cow of science" does not describe accurately what Polanyi has been trying to do, as a reading of his book *Personal Knowledge* will make clear. The phrase betrays a negative attitude quite at variance with a true Christian concern for scientific advance.

JOSEPH F. MULLIGAN, S.J.

Chairman, Department of Physics  
Fordham University  
New York, N. Y.

## Two-Way Street

EDITOR: The obvious bias in your Comment, "Report From Israel" (3/12), surprises me. Has AMERICA, too, fallen for the screams about the big, bad Arab bully?

I have no great love for Nasser and his periodic rattling of arms. There is no ques-

tion about Israel's right to prosperity and permanence. But the road to peace in the Middle East is a two-way street. Peace is threatened as much by the aggressive expansionism of Israel as by the massing of Nasser's troops.

J. FREDERICK HARRINGTON

Framingham, Mass.

## U. S. Pluralism

EDITOR: "Cabots and Kennedys" (3/5), by Fr. Thurston N. Davis, S.J., is an example of interesting but, I fear, wishful thinking. A leopard doesn't change his spots.

At the time of the Smith campaign in 1928, I was and for years had been a traveling salesman in the Bible Belt—Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas. I had many friends in that section, but to my surprise I received the same reaction day after day from the non-Catholics among them: "Sure,

I voted for a Catholic for mayor, for congressman, for governor, but I won't vote for a Catholic for President."

Bigotry dead? What happened in Louisiana this winter to defeat "Chep" Morrison in the gubernatorial race?

Nominate a Catholic for the Presidency and the best business in the United States would be the cotton mills. They couldn't turn out the sheets and pillow cases fast enough—at ten dollars per outfit.

J. W. RUCK

St. Louis, Mo.

EDITOR: Fr. L. C. McHugh's clear distinctions between the varieties of pluralism helped to clarify this concept. Unfortunately, toward the end of his article, he opened up an area of ambiguity because of a failure to distinguish between pluralism as a doctrinaire theory and pluralism as a postfactum, descriptive rationalization of the actual compromises which must be made when a divided society seeks social, civic and religious peace.

I believe that pluralism is a descriptive rationalization rather than a social theory devised for the betterment of society. Consequently, to describe an attitude favoring

Education may be described as the process whereby the older people in a society pass on their total way of life to their children. When this process absorbs years of the students' lives and employs millions of persons and astronomical sums it becomes more important than ever to evaluate reflectively the culture that is being transmitted and to determine as reasonably as possible the goals and the content of the school experience.

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JESUIT STUDIES

## WORK AND EDUCATION

THE ROLE OF TECHNICAL CULTURE  
IN SOME DISTINCTIVE THEORIES OF HUMANISM

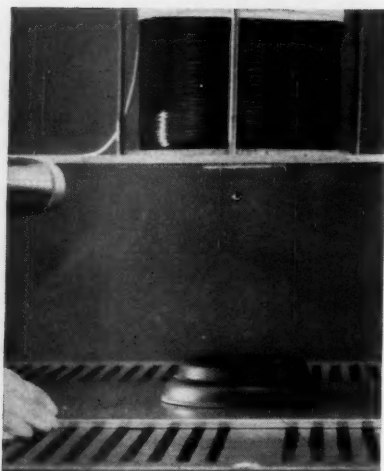
John W. Donohue, S.J.

xi + 238 pages, \$4.00

## Loyola University Press

3445 North Ashland Avenue  
Chicago 13

# University of Detroit



## What Goes Up!

The basic nature of gravity is being explored in a secluded blockhouse on the University of Detroit campus. This small globe suspended magnetically in space is only one very small and elementary exercise in a long-range probing into a subject about which the world knows only too little. It is one of many research projects underway in the University of Detroit Research Institute of Science and Engineering.

## JESUIT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

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University of San Francisco	LAS-Sc-C-Ed-G-N-L-Sy-AROTC	
University of Santa Clara	LAS-AE-C-E-Ed-G-L-Sc-Sy-AROTC	
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Regis College (Denver)	LAS-Sy	
CONNECTICUT		
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ILLINOIS		
Loyola University (Chicago)	LAS-AE-C-D-Ed-G-HS-IR-L-M-N-S-Sc-Sy-Sp-AROTC	
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Boston College (Chestnut Hill)	LAS-C-Ed-G-L-N-S-Sc-Sy-AROTC	
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MISSOURI		
Rockhurst College (Kansas City)	LAS-AE-C-IR-Sc	
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NEBRASKA		Departments
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Le Moyne College (Syracuse)	LAS-C-IR	
OHIO		
John Carroll University (Cleveland)	LAS-C-G-Sy-AROTC	
Xavier University (Cincinnati)	LAS-AE-C-G-Sy-AROTC	
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St. Joseph's College (Philadelphia)	LAS-AE-IR-Ed-Sc-AFOTC	
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Seattle University	LAS-C-Ed-E-G-N-SF-AROTC	
WASHINGTON, D. C.		
Georgetown University	LAS-C-D-FS-G-ILL-L-M-N-Sy-AROTC-AFOTC	
WEST VIRGINIA		
Wheeling College	LAS	
WISCONSIN		
Marquette University (Milwaukee)	LAS-AE-C-D-DH-E-Ed-G-J-L-M-MT-PT-Sy-Sp-AROTC-NROTC	

### KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

LAS Arts and Sciences	FS Foreign Service
AE Adult Education	G Graduate School
A Architecture	HS Home Study
C Commerce	ILL Institute of Language and Linguistics
D Dentistry	IR Industrial Relations
DH Dental Hygiene	J Journalism
Ed Education	L Law
E Engineering	

MT Medical Technology	Sc Science
M Medicine	SF Sister Formation
Mu Music	Sy Seismology Station
N Nursing	Sp Speech
P Pharmacy	T Theatre
PT Physical Therapy	AROTC Army
RT Radio-TV	NROTC Navy
S Social Work	AFOTC Air Force

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pluralism as nonsensical is in itself nonsense.

"The division of the commonwealth into a plethora of sects is indeed a pathological condition of society." But the division was not brought about by pluralism as a social theory. It arose as the result of forces which had their roots deep in history. (And, I believe, we Catholics consider history to be a process over which divine Providence presides.) The theory of pluralism cannot be blamed for conditions which existed before pluralism was ever heard of.

Pluralism, as a descriptive rationalization, has some value as a guide to the spirit in which compromises may be made in a mixed society.

(MSGR.) NELSON W. LOCAL

Elma, N. Y.

## Service Abroad

EDITOR: In answer to a query from a young couple wishing to teach in Africa, your Comment, "Answer to Mr. Joneson" (3/5), listed several organizations presently engaged in sending lay missionaries and teachers abroad. I would like to call attention to a new plan designed to allow thousands of college graduates an opportunity to assist underdeveloped nations in other corners of the globe.

The plan, which has been proposed to Congress by Rep. Henry S. Reuss, calls for setting up a "Point Four Youth Corps." Under this plan young men could fulfill their military obligation by serving as technical and educational advisors in these lands. Young college graduates—the plan would also be open to women—participating in the program would serve with existing Governmental and private agencies at a salary similar to that paid to U. S. Army privates.

Readers may be interested in supporting the two bills introduced to carry out this plan. H.R. 9638 is the measure sponsored by Representative Reuss in the House; the late Sen. Richard Neuberger had introduced S. 2908, an identical bill, in the Senate.

PETER FARNELL

Jersey City, N.J.

## Vote for Artist

EDITOR: May I say a word of appreciation for the weekly work of John Hapgood? It has become a distinguishing mark of AMERICA.

Hapgood's art fascinates me. He gets such freshness and motion into his sketches. There is broad, genial warmth, and yet he works within limits that are so strictly confining. Moreover, his drawings seem to get better and better.

RAYMOND YORK, Jr.

Jersey City, N. J.

# Current Comment

## Voice From Little Rock

Should we keep silence on the racial issue, or should we openly discuss it? Bishop Albert L. Fletcher of Little Rock, according to a Lenten pastoral letter read in the churches of his diocese, believes it is time for Catholics of Little Rock to discuss the matter, charitably but firmly, among themselves.

The bishop accordingly has laid down a few rules to aid such discussion, which will be conducted under the auspices of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. He has also prepared a brief *Elementary Catholic Catechism*, treating of the morality of segregation and racial discrimination. The catechism does not undertake to cover the entire field, but considers the question as it most immediately concerns the Catholics of Arkansas. It recalls the principles of the Universal Church, but selects topics that seem most pertinent to the local situation. "Segregation," the bishop says, "is immoral because it discriminates uncharitably against human beings on the basis of race alone."

The booklet considers the remedies for racial prejudice, the obligations of fraternal charity, and the special obligations of Catholics to other members of the Mystical Body. Even though separate Catholic schools and churches may have to be tolerated "during the critical time of adjustment," the "goal of the Church in this diocese will be that no Catholic student is refused admission to a Catholic school on account of race or color."

Whatever points may be argued on matters of specific application, the plain fact is that the question has been thrown wide open for discussion, certain fundamentals stated, and an example set to Catholics in every part of the nation to reflect seriously upon the moral issues at stake.

## Hollywood on Strike

Apart from the oddity that the union involved has a number of millionaires in its membership, the strike of the Screen Actors Guild is notable for an-

other reason. It raises a moral question unknown to ages less technological than our own.

The 14,000 members of the guild—70 per cent of whom are said to earn less than \$4,000 annually—are demanding a share of an industry windfall estimated to be worth \$200 million. The windfall is a library of post-1948 films which TV sponsors are eager to buy. The actors argue that they have a moral right to share in the TV proceeds since the films were originally made for theatre presentation, not for exploitation by commercial sponsors on TV screens.

The producers take the stand that in paying the salaries stipulated by contract they fully discharged their obligation to the actors. Since the films belong to them, they contend, as owners they have a right to all the money derived from their sale.

It seems to us that unless the actors can show that there was substantial error in their contracts with the studios—a doubtful undertaking—they have no claim in justice to the unforeseen proceeds from TV. On the principle that *res fructificat domino* (the owner is the beneficiary of any increase in the value of his property), the producers have sole title to the TV windfall. Furthermore, in property matters the civil law is ordinarily controlling, and we doubt that the actors can establish a legal claim to the proceeds from the old films.

## Lonely at the Crossroads

"It ain't a street, it's a jungle." "You get chased from here—you go over there." This is how its observers and its shiftless loiterers talk about a mid-Manhattan block that runs directly off Times Square, "the crossroads of the world."

The blighted block in question, 42nd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues in New York, is an eyesore and a festering moral pus-pocket agleam with neon and redolent of hot dogs and pizza pies. Homosexuals, with their tapering black "continental" trous-

ers, roam its sidewalks under garish movie marquees, or stand tapping their shoes to jukebox music in "the hole" or arcade leading to the subway. There is a flea circus here, and a place where bored gentlemen-in-transit play a pinball game named "Fascination." Tinny 42nd Street is where you buy itching powder, knives, cheap souvenirs of the Statue of Liberty and pornography.

Can this be New York? Yes, to the shame of New Yorkers, it is. Milton Bracker, perceptive New York Times reporter, recently drew a full-length picture of the street and its denizens. He wrote:

A terrible, corrosive loneliness characterizes hundreds of the drifters of Times Square. Lacking inner resources, they lurk in the arcades. Occasionally, their frustrations and petty hostilities boil over in incidents of obscenity and menace.

These young drifters, Bracker said, are "eternal reminders of the inner anguishes" of a great metropolis.

Now that 1964 and the New York City World's Fair are just over the horizon, the city fathers are beginning to worry about cleaning up a block that has been on the downgrade for a generation. It's time to worry, too, about the poor young derelicts who make this one of the most pitiful streets in the world.

## Chain-Letter Nonsense

We got a letter the other day—the kind meant to start a superstitious chain reaction among simple souls. This letter directed the recipient to copy a brief prayer and send it to five people within 24 hours. Compliance meant that God would send good luck in four days. Break the chain and watch out! "General Bratton received \$8,000 but lost it after breaking the chain," the letter warned.

Circulating chain letters is a form of devout impiety that never dies. Such letters never have the approval of religious authorities. They are usually initiated by malicious pranksters. They are sent cluttering the mails by simple souls who want to "play it safe" and are just a bit hazy on how to worship God rightly.

The pagan Romans saw signs in the guts of animals. The Greeks worried over the delirious babbling of the Del-



phic oracle. But superstition makes no sense in a Christian. God's providence leaves no room for the vagaries of "luck." His holiness forms no partnership with lying promises. No scrap of fear-ridden piety, however often it is copied, can put His omnipotence in bonds.

It is bad enough to believe in the efficacy of chain-letter religion. It is worse to assist in spreading an infection which corrupts true piety, cruelly preys on the superstitious fringe of believers and takes advantage of the ignorance of children. (Our letter bore the names of 28 California schoolgirls.)

If you get a chain letter, however pious, put it promptly in what we euphemistically call the "circular file." Let its future circulation be the job of the local sanitation department.

### Anti-Smut Campaigns

Public opinion has its own way of coming to a boil. Sooner or later, however, the surface begins to bubble as popular sentiment becomes thoroughly heated. This surely is the story behind the outbreak of countless anti-smut

campaigns around the country in recent months.

Pornography and obscenity have long histories. So long as we have men who stick at nothing to make a fast if dirty buck, traffic in them will continue. But it is one thing to recognize the hardness of evil and another to sit by while it flourishes in the marketplace without protest. Today we hear much about a weakening in the national moral purpose. The fact that so many of the little people—parents in towns and cities across the land—are taking action on their own to protect their youngsters from moral harm should come then as doubly welcome news.

Recently, this grass-roots movement had a chance to measure its corporate strength. Some six hundred delegates, including physicians, psychiatrists, clergymen, attorneys, judges and law enforcement officers, gathered in Cincinnati for the second National Conference on Obscene and Pornographic Literature. Their meeting grew out of the initiative of a four-year-old committee, Citizens for Decent Literature, which has now become a national organization.

To those fearful about infringements of our traditional freedom, CDL offers assurance by its refusal to approve any methods which invade First-Amendment rights. What this mushrooming network of community groups seeks is simply greater public awareness of the problem and full enforcement of laws against smut-peddling. Here is certainly a healthy reaction on the part of a rightfully aroused citizenry.

### New Scholarly Journal

Heythrop College, a major seminary near Oxford, England, has long been engaged in communicating the wisdom of centuries to its students. Now, with the publication of the *Heythrop Journal*, a quarterly review of philosophy and theology, it is reaching out to instruct a wider public.

People who read journals like *Thought*, published by Fordham University, and *The Review of Politics*, published by the University of Notre Dame, will recognize that the articles in the first issue of Heythrop's new review, though they reflect mature scholarship, are not aimed at an exclusively

## Austria, America and Mutual Understanding

VIENNA—The Austrian novelist and political thinker Dr. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn was chatting outside a lecture hall in Mobile, Ala. He happened to mention that during the last World War he had lived and taught in the United States. As he turned to leave and begin his lecture, one lady turned to another: "He lived here all those years and never tried to become an American citizen? That's terrible!" To lay this attitude in its grave is one of the major aims of the State Department's International Educational Exchange Program. America's aim, in Austria and all other lands participating in the program, is quite positive: mutual understanding.

One of the most effective official attempts to achieve this two-way understanding in Austria has proved to be the English Teachers' Seminar. In the last few years 42 such meetings of English teachers in Austrian secondary schools have taken place under joint British, American and Austrian sponsorship. An

PATRICK KILLOUGH, S.J., who is presently studying the history of Greek philosophy at the University of Vienna under a Fulbright grant, will report next year to Tokyo for further studies and for missionary work.

idea of what these seminars attempt and achieve can be derived from a consideration of one recently held in the village of Raach, fifty miles southwest of Vienna. Here 52 Austrian secondary school teachers of technical domestic science and hotel courses joined 16 American and three British participants. The American group was made up of Fulbright students and teachers, their wives and several officials of the U. S. Embassy.

The assembled participants proceeded through a six-day program of 30 official sessions. Sixteen of these, which were meant to make America known and understood, were directed by Americans; the remaining 14 sessions were largely taken up with life in England and technical problems in the teaching of English. Austrians and Americans together heard and discussed lectures on American language, short stories, advertising, industry, politics, women in professional life and Lincoln's works. The Austrian teachers divided into small groups to attend in sequence six American-directed "rotating workshops," in which they learned folk songs, discussed U. S. family budgeting, worked on language, exchanged ideas on government, politics and education. In the



professional audience. Live concern for problems of our day is evident in "Man and Metaphysics" by Frederick C. Copleston, S.J. The author of a widely used general history of philosophy, Fr. Copleston presents his reflections on metaphysics in the context of contemporary British philosophy (G. E. Moore, Bertrand Russell and A. J. Ayer) and its European counterpart (Jaspers, Heidegger and Sartre).

In another major article Fr. Bernard Leeming, S.J., discusses the general principles that are commonly regarded as basic to the ecumenical movement by groups like the World Council of Churches. The same intelligent awareness of contemporary problems is seen in an article about the meaning of tradition in the Church, and in a study of the Qumran community.

The first issue concludes with a select list of British books on philosophy and theology published in 1958; the April number will contain the list for 1959. After the April issue, the list will be published each quarter. This service alone is enough to recommend the *Heythrop Journal* to general reader and scholar alike.

## Money, Not Morals

Several weeks ago the Tampa *Tribune* editorialized in a down-to-earth sort of way on the sitdowns by Negroes protesting segregated lunch counters in the South. The point of the editorial was that the young Negroes who staged the demonstrations chose an impractical means to their end.

The management of a store, explained the *Tribune*, "operating a private business, has a legal right to serve or not to serve any customer, as it pleases." The editorial continued:

The manager of a store is not concerned with the right or wrong of segregation as much as he is with protecting his business; if seating Negroes at the lunch counter will drive away the majority of his customers, he's not going to do it and no one can blame him.

In other words, the issue for the businessmen in the sitdowns is not morality but money. Until public opinion changes and, as a consequence, desegregation becomes financially painless, it is unrealistic to think that store managers in the South will change their ways.

As a practical matter, the Tampa paper may well be right, although we like to think that most businessmen are prepared to sacrifice profits to moral principle. There is a chance, however, that the *Tribune's* outlook may be too restricted. If the picketing of Northern-owned chain stores which have outlets in the South continues, the boards of directors, looking at the national balance sheets, may decide some day that it is more profitable for them to order their Southern managers to desegregate than not. Presumably, a hard-headed decision like that would be approved by the Tampa *Tribune*. Or at least it would be understood.

## TV Dialogue

For a near-record three hours and twenty-five minutes on March 13-14, "Open End," a discussion panel moderated by David Susskind, held the eyes of metropolitan New York TV-viewers glued to their flickering screens. Even more unusual than its length—the show began at 10 P.M. and the last commercial flashed on at 1:25 A.M.—was its success in presenting a generally

panel "An Exchange of Misconceptions," they threw away timidity and ranged over every imaginable problem.

During discussions following lectures, in workshops, walks and hikes, in meals taken in common, every opportunity was provided for attaining the three officially proposed goals. These were: to help the Austrian teachers improve their practical grasp of English, to keep abreast of factual developments in American and British life and literature, and to deepen in all participants that intangible something called mutual understanding.

Through six packed days the Austrian teachers demonstrated that they had little need to improve their English or their acquaintance with British and American literature. Areas of knowledge in which real progress seems to have been made were American political and educational systems, labor-management relations and geography—especially the geographic distribution of the major religious bodies. (Where do the Austrians get the idea that the South is the most Catholic part of America?) As for the third aim, it was clear from the start that Americans, Austrians and Britons could communicate easily, en-

thusiastically and graciously. Constant face-to-face affirmation of values held in common made it less unnerving to find differences of opinion on the role of the state ("We Austrians like to think of our state as a great hotel whose job it is to make us all feel comfortable and secure"); religion ("We are astounded by American zeal"); mental privacy ("Do you Americans realize how easy it is for us to stop listening to you in the middle of a conversation?"); racial problems ("My boys are much more interested in knowing all about some Negro night-club singer in New York than about the race question"); attitude toward the future ("We've won wars; we've lost wars. We've had so much history it's difficult to imagine that anything really new is likely to happen").

What is clear is that thousands of English classes throughout Austria will learn more about America because of what takes place in the English Teachers' Seminars. And many a U. S. participant has lost the notion that every political action of the United States, past, present or future, is beyond criticism. He has learned, too, that an American does not have to be an Americanizer.

PATRICK KILLOUGH

thoughtful conversation on issues which so often seem foredoomed to yield little light and much heat.

The panelists—Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, Paul Blanshard, Episcopalian Bishop James A. Pike, William Lee Miller of the

### Next Week

FR. NEIL MCCLUSKEY, just back from Africa, will report on the progress of democracy there.

Yale Divinity School and William Clancy—explored frankly and, almost without exception, courteously, such sensitive topics as birth control, divorce laws, public and parochial schools and public aid, Church-State relations and the fate of a Catholic Presidential candidate.

As Mr. Clancy, editor of *Worldview* and a thoroughly articulate Catholic layman, predicted at the outset of the show, discussion centered pretty much around the role of Catholicism in American society. For this reason it was all the more gratifying to witness the clarity and grace with which he and Senator McCarthy presented the Catholic viewpoint and dispelled a great many non-Catholic misapprehensions.

Their performance amply demonstrated the claim that the Church is indeed seeing a new era of the laity. Certainly the Catholic cause will not suffer when it can produce such champions. That perennial bawler of the hard lot of a hierarchy-ridden Catholic laity, Mr. Blanshard, who once more unveiled his tarnished arsenal of debating tricks, owes it to himself to analyze this fact some day.

### Britain Boycotts Sherry

March was the month of the boycott in Britain. There, the Labor and Liberal Parties, the Trades Union Congress and several local town councils are heading a month-long boycott of consumer imports from the Union of South Africa. Popular support has been significant but far from universal.

The target of British protest is the policy of racial apartheid which has stripped the Union's 11.4 million non-whites of all hope of getting their basic civil and economic rights.

Just how serious an effect the boycott is having on the pocketbooks of the three million whites in South Africa is uncertain. A trade boycott is a weapon that cuts both ways, and, when it is not universally followed, its partisans can become the chief victims. It is conceivable that high-minded British shopkeepers and Oxford dons who have renounced their favorite South African sherry are suffering from the boycott most of all.

There is no doubt, however, that this latest measure of moral protest is a telling one before the bar of world opinion. Other nations cannot but be impressed by this repudiation of racism on the part of the senior member of the British Commonwealth.

Moreover, South Africa must sell to live. The day the bulk of its customers impose an effective boycott, the resulting internal pressures may force the Union to clean up its racial mess. Boycotts are not pleasant, but are always preferable to bayonets and bombs.

### Cuba's Dollar Pinch

Relations between Castro's Cuba and the United States being what they are, it comes as no surprise to learn that trade between the two countries slumped nearly 20 per cent last year compared with 1958. It was no surprise either that the normal pattern of trade, which favored this country in the sense that our exports to Cuba exceeded our imports, was disrupted. The only surprising element in the figures published by the U. S. Department of Commerce was that the slump in trade was not sharper, and that U. S. exports to Cuba, despite Castro's severe exchange regulations, held up as well as they did.

The Commerce Department data put U. S. exports for 1959 at \$437 million and imports at \$470 million. The corresponding 1958 figures were \$545 million and \$530 million. Since, however, the golden flow of tourist dollars was abruptly cut off last year, the reversal of the normal balance of trade was of small advantage to the Castro Government. That helps to explain why U. S. exporters are still waiting to be paid for about \$100 million worth of goods. At the end of 1959, according to the Marxist head of the Cuban National Bank, Dr. Ernesto Guevara, Cuba's foreign

exchange holdings were a skimpy \$49 million.

These figures help to explain why some of our Latin American experts continue to counsel patience with the insulting and bombastic Dr. Castro. Although the \$100-million Soviet trade credit arranged in February by Anastas I. Mikoyan will somewhat ease the strain on Cuban finances, the Castro Government, they feel, cannot long travel its present reckless course without inviting disaster.

### Bedeveled Hong Kong

Hong Kong, as every tourist quickly becomes aware, is an industrious, enterprising community. It comes as a shock, therefore, when the Government of the British colony on Red China's doorsteps admits to a "critical turning point" in finances and sees no hope of relief in the immediate future. The burden of refugees from mainland China has become too great to bear.

When the Communists were seizing control of China in 1948, Hong Kong's population fell a bit short of a million. Today the colony harbors three million people within its narrow island confines. Originally hospitable to the hordes of mainland Chinese who sought refuge over the border, the authorities were eventually forced to clamp down on immigration for the simple reason that you cannot get ten pounds of potatoes into a five-pound bag. But disillusioned mainland Chinese still attempt to steal in from their Socialist paradise.

The problem engendered has proved insurmountable. All the efforts of the Government, the hard work and the resiliency of Hong Kong's three million people cannot keep up with the elementary requirements in housing, schooling, medical and social welfare. Half a million squatters subsist in tin shanties and another 70,000 huddle in roof-top shelters.

Emigration could be a solution. Because of their industry, thrift and clanishness, however, Chinese have become unpopular in Southeast Asia. Taiwan has shown no disposition to assume any moral obligation toward these fellow refugees. They are a free-world problem. Until the world regards them as such, Hong Kong will continue to stagger under its crushing burden.

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# Washington Front

## More Filibusters to Come

BY THE TIME this column is printed, Washington may be back to normal, but the civil rights problem which brought on the filibuster will continue to be a major issue before every Congress, and will plague every Democratic convention, for at least a generation. Only when the national Government has taken all legal steps to assure racial equality in voting, education, housing and a dozen other fields will the problem drop out of politics. In the meantime conventions and Congresses will act on civil rights in very different ways.

Paul Butler has stated that the Democrats will write the strongest civil rights plank in the party's history at the Los Angeles convention. Succeeding conventions will write still stronger planks into their platforms. The fact that the Negro vote in the Northern cities can determine the outcome of Presidential elections makes ever stronger platform and campaign promises certain. Congress will remain under constant pressure to enact new measures, but the moment it passes each new law, still other legislation in the field will be demanded. As long as there is any civil rights problem, there will be pressure on Congress.

Political conventions are not deliberative bodies faced with the necessity of producing platforms that are legislatively or administratively feasible. Conventions are campaign-oriented. They are primarily concerned with election victories for the party nominees. Platforms are

devices for helping candidates win in November. Only the fear of a Southern walkout, with its disturbing effect on the delegate strength of certain candidates, limits the scope of civil rights planks.

After all the promises have been made, Congress, which is a deliberative body with the responsibility for making laws that can be enforced, must act. Congress is not unconcerned with elections, but its members are just as concerned with the votes in the South as they are with votes in the Northern industrial cities. Furthermore, enactment of unenforceable legislation can be as politically dangerous as the enactment of no legislation. Promises made without discussion or debate at a national convention must be redeemed in part by Congress after months of committee work and weeks of floor deliberation. The gap between a statement of principles and workable legislation is very large indeed. Congress must work on aspects of the problem over a period of years, approaching step by step the goals set forth so easily in the statement of principles. Assuring equal voting opportunity will be a major advance, but it will leave untouched the more controversial and more difficult problems in the social field.

It may be that in the social field no legislation can solve the problem, or that it would be better if the solutions were worked out locally without national action. Almost inevitably, however, Congress will eventually act. The American commitment to the idea of equality, abetted by the increasing electoral power of those who suffer from inequality, makes Congressional inaction impossible. More filibusters will arise before Congress finally rids itself of the civil rights issue.

HOWARD PENNIMAN

## On All Horizons

**RETREATS AT THE SHRINE.** During the past year a total of 604 diocesan and religious priests made retreats at the Sacred Heart Retreat House for Priests, Auriesville, N. Y. This is the largest annual attendance in the 22-year history of the retreat house at the Shrine of the North American Martyrs.

► **"STAMP PLAN."** On April 7 more than 70 nations will issue special World Refugee Year postage stamps to focus public attention on the refugee problem and to raise funds for refugee programs.

► **CANA COLONY.** The Madonna House Apostolate will conduct during July and August weekly programs on the theme of "Restoring the House to Christ" for families desiring to com-

bine a family vacation with enlargement of spiritual horizons. Write to Registrar, Madonna House, Combermere, Ontario.

► **PRINTED POISON.** The Citizens for Decent Literature organization has published two informative pamphlets. One, *Fight Newsstand Filth*, describes the aims and methods of the Citizens Committee; the other, *Printed Poison*, tells the story of the efforts made to sell obscene matter to youngsters (Citizens for Decent Literature, 3901 Carew Tower, Cincinnati 2, Ohio. Single copy by mail for 15¢, 100 for \$8; 1,000 for \$70).

► **FOR PRIEST AND LEVITE.** The program of the Institute of Catholic Social Action to take place from June 27

to Aug. 5 at the Catholic University is now ready. For registration forms, address Summer Session Director, the Catholic University of America, Wash. 17, D. C. . . . The 12th annual Seminary Catholics Action Study Conference meets in New Orleans, Aug. 29 to Sept. 1. Most Rev. John J. Wright, Bishop of Pittsburgh, will be one of the principal speakers. Fuller details through the SCAS, Divine Word Seminary, Bay St. Louis, Miss.

► **ON CHRISTIAN RESOURCES.** The theme of the 17th annual Spring Symposium of the Catholic Renaissance Society will be "The Concept of Christendom: An Exploration of the Intellectual Resources of Christendom in Its Present Struggle to Fulfill Its Mission." The symposium will be held at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa., April 18-19. For further information write to Spring Symposium Chairman, at CRS, 111 Blvd. of the Allies, Pittsburgh 22, Pa. W.E.S.



# Editorials

## Spain Asks for Understanding

THIS WEEK we feature an intriguing article entitled "This Is Spain!" It is from the pen of a Spaniard of the working classes, Fernando Fugardo Sanz. Though a member of the Spanish Cortes and representative of Spain's unions or syndicates at the International Labor Organization, Sr. Fugardo has not for a moment lost touch with the grievances and aspirations of the wood and cork workers who put him in office and seem happy to keep him there. We met the author of this article just as he completed an extended tour of the United States as a guest of the State Department. His immense vigor and striking sincerity made us ask him to tell the readers of AMERICA what he has been at pains to say to us. Immediately on his return to Spain, he sent off this article, which we have striven to translate in such a way as to preserve the freshness and enthusiasm of the original.

"This Is Spain!" is a valuable document. The views of men like Fugardo rarely if ever find their way into the U. S. press. One may disagree with this man—even reject angrily some of his assumptions and interpretations—but no one will put this article down without in some way challenging the clichés with which we of the Anglo-Saxon world so readily categorize, belittle and dismiss the Spaniards. Even the hostile reader will discover that Fugardo unsettles a few stereotypes, paints a fresh picture of Spain's problems, and lets in large quantities of fresh air to ventilate the notion that there is some one universally applicable (American) solution to all the world's problems.

Anxious to defend his country from further misrepresentation, Fugardo puts the best possible construction on her present institutions. As one dedicated to the working classes, he stresses the strides toward the ideals of social justice that have been made. He would be the

first to say that much more needs to be done. He would be the first to agree with every phrase in the mid-January statement of the archbishops of Spain, who, echoing a 1956 declaration on social justice, again called the nation's attention to the enduring needs of the poor. Calling "praiseworthy" the Government's struggle to stabilize the economy and promote a much-needed development program, the Spanish prelates called for "fairer wages and fairer distribution of goods, doing away with irritating inequalities." They asked for sobriety and austerity among the rich, the powerful, the owners and managers of business. Alluding to Spain's ban on strikes, they said "the crazy race between wages and prices" cannot be blamed on workers who push their demands "with the support of their organized strength." If Spain is to tighten its belt, that belt should be around every stomach, the archbishops hinted:

It is not just to demand austerity of the workers and employees so that they get a thoroughly insufficient wage, while others pile up fat returns and are not content with moderate margins of profit. Nor would it be right for these latter to neglect to invest the proper proportion of their profits in the improvement and enlargement of the business.

The archbishops' letter laid particular stress on the desirability of profit-sharing plans.

Spain, poor in material resources but rich in the resources of the human person, is struggling to pull herself out of her economic and social difficulties. Today, as the title of Robert Pell's authoritative article of recent date (AM. 1/2) expressed it, "Spain Points West." We can do much to hasten these new orientations. But we shall accomplish little if—as Fernando Fugardo makes abundantly clear—we do not begin with some small measure of understanding.

## Color Bar to Jobs

IN A PAMPHLET published last year, *Equal Job Opportunity Works Everywhere*, the President's Committee on Government Contracts peered into the future and sighted a glittering prospect: 193 million people in the United States by 1965; a gross national product of \$560 billion to satisfy the swelling demand for goods and services; a big expansion of job opportunities for well-trained and highly skilled workers. But the committee added this warning: "Expansion goals will not be reached without full use of minority workers."

That vision and that warning came to mind as we paged through the sober, fact-filled pages of the NAACP's recent study of racial discrimination in em-

ployment, *The Negro Wage-Earner and Apprentice Training Programs*. The discouraging truth is that if America's future depends on the full use of minority workers, that future is murky with doubt. If the reader is inclined to question this conclusion, let him quietly ponder a key table (on p. 10) in the NAACP report. There he will learn that in 1950, according to the U. S. Bureau of the Census, there were only 90 Negroes apprenticed as auto mechanics, 60 as carpenters, 90 as electricians, 60 as machinists and tool makers, 90 as plumbers and pipe fitters, 300 in the metalworking and building trades. Experts in the field assure us that in the decade which has elapsed since the Census Bureau

study, there has been little change for the better. The fact is that the road to skilled jobs, with the higher pay and status attached to them, remains effectively closed to Negro youths.

The roots of this discrimination, so offensive to the Christian conscience and the American spirit of fair play and equal opportunity for all, lie deeply tangled in our history. There is little point in uncovering them here (although the NAACP study does lay them bare). What concerns us rather are the measures that must be taken if discriminatory patterns in employment are to be smashed once and for all.

In the first place, employers must lead the way. In our society they have the right to hire whomsoever they please. That they should continue to be swayed by prejudice, or influenced by trade-union pressure is intolerable. It is also intolerable that they should continue meekly to submit to unjust community customs. In a business society, we have a right to expect leadership from our businessmen.

In the second place, the lily-white traditions of some local unions—notably affiliates of the Printers, Machinists, Plumbers, Electricians and other building trades unions—must be repudiated in practice as well as on

paper. The AFL-CIO constitution states that it shall be the object and principle of the organization "to encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organization." Let union members weigh well a recent remark of AFL-CIO President George Meany: "Labor cannot in good conscience urge Congress to act against racial discrimination when some of our own affiliated groups themselves are guilty of practicing discrimination."

Finally, all government agencies, on all levels, must show in their hiring and promotion practices a good example to private employers. In addition, they must insist on a policy of nondiscrimination in all apprentice programs, and support this insistence with an appropriate sanction. In other words, they must withdraw their help from any program which denies equal opportunity to qualified Negroes.

Meanwhile the path to future employment in skilled jobs can be made smoother if capable Negroes are offered jobs for which they are fully qualified. Here the President's Committee on Government Contracts, with the cooperation of employers and unions, can and ought to make the greatest contribution.

## Is Penance Passé?

ONE OF THE MOST unexpected—and disturbing—reactions to both the book and the film versions of *The Nun's Story* was the attitude of Catholics to the idea and the actual practice of physical penance. The following reflections may quite likely be a generalization from a few instances, but the type of Catholic to occasion these remarks is standard enough—and otherwise admirable enough—to base a suspicion that U. S. Catholics in general need to rethink the place of positive penance in their lives.

When the admittedly controversial book appeared, it was not the non-Catholic readers and reviewers who boggled at the story's dramatic portrayal of the physical penances practiced by the nuns. No non-Catholic critic of the book, so far as a fairly exhaustive perusal of the reviews revealed, fell into the haggard cliché that self-inflicted pain is—or has been, since Freud—a form of morbidity or even a manifestation of masochism. Surprisingly enough, however, some Catholic critics of the book and film raised their hands in pious horror over the fact that the dear nuns could possibly have been portrayed as scourging themselves. To be sure, "scourging" is perhaps too strong a word; it summons up visions of sailors lashed to the mast and flogged to death. It also recalls the bruised body of Christ bound to the pillar of His agony—and if that is too strong a picture for us to stomach, so much the worse for contemporary Catholicism.

The simple historical fact of the matter is, was and will be that the spirit and the rules of all religious orders and congregations provide for self-inflicted penance as a means of sharing in Christ's redemptive work. Such penance does not—God forbid—tolerate the agony

of the sailor lashed to the mast, but it does embrace the Man of Sorrows "bruised by our iniquities." It is true that self-inflicted physical penance can be taken on in self-delusion. That is why, in all religious communities, it is performed only under sane and temperate guidance. Pain is not *the* means to achieve holiness, but it is one means; if submitted to or taken on in the spirit with which Christ our Lord approached his passion and death.

Today's U. S. Catholics surely perform many penances. They willingly—and perhaps with a subdued sense of joy in being like their Lord—fast during Lent (but what a gentle fast, compared to the "black fasts" of their ancestors). They have learned to "offer up" the trials and vexations of everyday life, and this spirit of humble and penitential acceptance is a wonderful blessing and grace.

But there is something more that can be added to the myriad means of growth in holiness. That something is penance—even physical discomfort—self-imposed willingly, joyfully and Christ-centeredly. The Church imposes some penances upon us, to be sure, but the Catholic who has ever truly contemplated the crucifix will not rest in the mere acceptance of pain and suffering. *He* welcomed it—why should not we?

In this country and age of gadgets and sundry creature comforts, a recall to the spirit of self-imposed penance is perhaps what the Church in America needs most to develop the sinews that will be strong enough to wrestle down the devil-lion (and his Communist minions) who seeks to devour us. He (they) will never devour those who, with Paul, bear voluntarily in their bodies the wounds of Christ.

# This Is Spain!

*Fernando Fugardo Sanz*

I RECENTLY returned to Spain from a two-month visit to the United States. While there, I was able to talk with many Americans, and from these conversations I learned that they had a wrong idea of Spain and that they were quite unconscious of the social evolution that has been going on in my country during recent years.

Right at the outset let me say who I am. This is important, because in one of the conversations I had in the United States, I was asked: "From what Spain do you come? Do you belong to Franco's Spain, or to the Spain of the Republic?" My answer was unequivocal: "I come from Spain. There is only one Spain. On its coat of arms, which contains an eagle, there are these words: One, Great and Free."

As an officer in the Republican Army I fought all the way to the end of the Spanish Civil War. Then, because of the fear of reprisals, I slipped over into France. France received us "democratically," interned us in the desert after we had spent several days at the naval base of Bizerte. The highest ranking among us, those who carried passports and papers in abundance, were admitted to the pleasant life of the larger cities. The rest of us, with scarcely enough to eat and with even our water rationed, were left with no other alternative but to join the French Army as legionnaires or die in the desert.

Franco had said: "If a man's hands are not fouled with blood, he can return to his Fatherland and nothing will happen to him." Franco kept his word. In the beginning we were imprisoned—perhaps for too long a time, longer than an innocent man ought to be detained. But once cleared and with our innocence proven, we were put at liberty. Much the same thing happened to many Spaniards who had been abandoned and humiliated in foreign lands, and who subsequently returned to the Fatherland, where they took up the threads of their life. Some of them went on, as I have done, to membership in the highest organizations of the nation without finding any obstacle in their path because of their Republican origins, or because they had fought in the Army of the Republic, or because—before the National Movement—they had been militants in various workers organizations. To speak only of

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*The author, who served as an officer in the Spanish Republican Army during the Civil War, is a native of Valencia. He represents Spain's syndicates at the International Labor Organization in Geneva. See our editorial, "Spain Asks for Understanding" (p. 756).*

myself, I today represent Spain at the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Geneva.

Regardless of what people in the United States think, the workers in Spain express their will through elections, with a direct and secret ballot. They decide who are to be their representatives from the companies they work for. They determine how their intermediaries are to be charged with watching out for their interests in the unions. They choose their own representatives for the social struggle and the achievement of economic social gains in the municipal governments. These men are there as citizens to defend the interest of a given town and to find out how the money of the taxpayers is being spent. Finally, in the Cortes, which corresponds to the United States Congress, these representatives see to it that the laws possess that social content which laws, if they are to be human and just, should embody. These organizations are elected by a system of universal suffrage, which means by direct and secret vote. If the representatives do not fulfill the mandate that is given them, it is not because of any fault in the machinery itself, but it can be blamed on the ineptitude of the fellow who was elected. Only the electorate is responsible for the choice of a man; their mistake, if they make one, can be rectified at the next election, since elections are held every three years.

## TRADE UNIONS IN SPAIN

I know of no country in Europe or in the Americas where the unions can exercise on the life of the nation a force so powerful as that possessed by the unions or syndicates of Spain. This is one of the secrets that explain why in Spain we do not have strikes to defend the interests of the workers. The workers have leaders elected by the workers themselves, and the function of these representatives is to see that the law is respected and fulfilled for the benefit of all.

I repeat that we are elected with complete freedom, and certainly not with the system of the raised hand that prevails so much in certain countries where they boast of being revolutionaries. True, elsewhere workers can paralyze industry and the economy by a strike. Perhaps there they forget that the meaning of liberty is not to make difficulties and to cause problems for everybody else. My liberty ends when I invade or deprive my neighbor of his liberty. This is more or less what Clemenceau meant when he said: "Liberty consists in disciplining yourself so that others do not have to discipline you." This approximately is our system here in Spain—discipline in the law for all, so that as

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a result the law does not have to be imposed in all its force. We try to respect the law in its integrity.

People don't know what they are talking about when they speak of the backwardness or the poverty of the Spanish people. I don't pretend to make the American people believe that in Spain we live in the same abundance or are surrounded by the same comforts which the people of America have. Of course not. But in order to know how we live today, one must come to understand how we used to live before 1936, when the country was governed by the most thoroughgoing democracy Spain ever had, and when Spain was in the fullest possession of her liberties.

In those times the worker had no protection at all. True, he could call a strike, overturn street cars, burn automobiles—automobiles that might belong to a big capitalist, or to a doctor who needed it for his work. The worker could throw rocks and break window panes, build barricades and sing international hymns. But right there all his liberties and his social conquests ended. True, he could stand around and witness the burning of buildings—churches, factories or simple houses, the dwellings of this person or of that. He could read in the press about the crimes that were being committed every day against certain persons of one or another group. But this, I repeat, was all the liberty he had. Because, if a worker fell sick, he had to die forgotten and covered with misery in a hospital or in the hands of public charity.

Today, on the contrary, we do not have those liberties. We have order. We have discipline. There is nothing better than for a man to discipline himself so that the others do not have to do it for him.

Our unions are strong. They have a political council of the highest officials, and this council serves as the voice that speaks on behalf of the ten million workers. Its function is to relay and represent their concerns and their aspirations to the highest official of the State, General Franco.

During my trip to the United States there were people who told me that in Spain we are unable to speak out or that we are dependent on the Government in the discharge of our duties. Such people are wrong. In the 23 unions or syndicates of Spain, from top to bottom—that is, from the factory to the Congress or Cortes itself—the workers elect men chosen from their own ranks to be their leaders and to represent them in all the agencies that affect their interests.

Within the organizations of unions there is also one for the Spanish farmer—the United Brotherhoods of the Field. They also have their representatives. Thus the Spanish countryside enjoys liberty and justice, and men do not have to burn crops, as they had to do in the past, in order to get their just deserts. Only our union organization knew how to make their demands known to the public power. Hence it has come to pass that the farmer, without actually arriving at the complete goal of his aspiration, has nevertheless in recent times gained more socio-economic advantages than he ever was able to get in five centuries of monarchic and republican regimes.

Today a worker's job is assured him. Except for just cause—robbery, drunkenness, quarreling, etc.—he cannot be capriciously turned out of his work, as he used to be. If the employer tries to turn him out, then the worker, through his union, can have recourse to the tribunals of labor where his case is explained, and the employer is forced to indemnify him if he does not let him come back to work. When the place of employment has more than fifty workers, then the worker can choose between collecting the indemnification that is fixed or going back to the factory.

It is quite true that in Spain we workers do not have the high standard of living that exists in the United States. But then, for that matter, neither does it exist in France, Italy or the rest of Europe, as a general thing, not to speak of Asia and other parts of the world, which of course cannot boast of enjoying it.

#### SPAIN IN ISOLATION

We Spaniards have made our revolution despite the rest of the world, that same world which shut off our frontiers and blockaded us after our Civil War and gave us no help whatever. And this revolution took place at a time when our sources of wealth had all been knocked out, when our railroads and highways were destroyed, our bridges blown up, our land impoverished and without fertilizer. Our reserves were all drained away. We were without gold and without holdings. At such a time we undertook a revolution, and today, when that same outside world asks us for explanation, when it seeks to censure us for this or that, it is forgetting

the abandonment in which the Spanish people languished.

Gallantly and all alone the Spanish people not only conquered the Red menace right here but were able also to prevent armies, which later fought the Allies, from crossing through Spain and landing



in Africa before the Allied troops. In this way Spain won a great battle in World War II, although it had to pay dearly for doing so.

But let us leave the subject of the war and get on to what we did here in Spain during the blockade that has gone on up until now. Our unions or syndicates, always on the alert to protect the worker, built cottages and hotels where workers are able to enjoy their vacations—vacations which business establishments are obliged to provide according to the law. Thus the workers are able to spend their vacations all over Spain, a privilege which in the past was possessed only by the rich. Moreover, we have created a system of insurance against illness in order to protect the workers. Thus today a worker, when ill, has a doctor, a surgeon, medicine and a sanatorium to go to, if necessary, and

half-pay, too. Before the revolution he had to crawl away into a corner, abandoned to the mercies of public charity.

And that is not all. The worker is protected against accidents sustained in the course of his work, and we have set up mutual-aid associations for workers, which are directed and administered by the workers. Workers reaching the age of 60 years are guaranteed a pension, which can go as high as 90 per cent of their salaries. Moreover, widows get a pension, and, thanks to it, a widow today does not have to worry about being left abandoned when her husband dies. There are orphanages for the care of workers' children.

Now, as I have already said, the workingmen run these insurance societies themselves, and they choose their own working companions to administer them. That is not the end of the achievement of the working class in Spain. With their own resources they have built five large labor universities (at Zamora, Gijón, Seville, Cordoba and Tarragona), where 20,000 sons of workers can pursue their studies, and from which they graduate either with an advanced certificate, if their talent and capacities allow for this, or with a technical and professional certificate. Thus each is able to take a useful place in society and need not be in the state that workers once were, that is, without means to learn to earn their daily bread in an honorable fashion.

True, we don't have a lot of automobiles as you do in the States, but all by ourselves we have lifted ourselves up from where we were before, and have done so without anybody's help and without heeding the slanderous campaigns that were levelled against us from all over the earth. Today we have congresses and conferences where everybody can come and see for himself how we have developed, and how our union leaders discuss their points of view with complete freedom as we plan our campaigns for social justice and set our social objectives.

## Second Thoughts

### Can We Keep On Paying for Catholic Schools ?

A FEW WEEKS AGO (2/20, p. 605), AMERICA questioned the wisdom of beginning still more Catholic colleges, in this case, Nos. 210 and 211 in this country. Perhaps it is time to launch a general examination of the entire Catholic school system. It seems to me enough conditions exist to justify a serious, expert, continuing

*This is the second in a series of columns by the former editor of the Davenport Messenger.*

Today employers must pay wages for Saturday, Sundays and feast days. We celebrate Labor Day with extra pay—in fact, a bonus of ten days' pay. The same holds for Christmas. We also obtain a share in the profits of the enterprise for which we work. Collective contracts have been one of our greatest triumphs; by these we bargain directly with management for better conditions of work or for raises in wages. In this we act just as unions do in the United States.

This, then, is Spain, the Spain the world knows nothing about, the Spain that works tirelessly for the peace of the world.

I have good friends in the United States. I call them friends because I know they recognize that I spoke with them sincerely and I believe they understood me. They, too, spoke with me sincerely and we had a meeting of minds. But there are others who do not understand how things are with us. To them I wish to say that we are a brave nation with a thirst for adventure, a nation which once transported its blood, its language and its culture in little wooden ships to another continent, large parts of which today, after many centuries, are still virgin soil. You in that continent today have untapped reserves of minerals, great rivers and immense forests. In these is the secret of the high standard of life that you enjoy in the United States. Your riches form a fact of life that is just as indubitable as the one I have been trying to explain here—the fact of our Spanish victory, a victory that cost us a million men slain in battle.

On the ruins of the war we fought have been built the foundations of modern Spain. If this Spain is not known by the rest of the world, it is because the world left us so much to ourselves that it seemed to forget we existed. It thus failed to realize that we were building ourselves up in new strength under the direction of a single man, a man the Spaniards will never be able to forget, Francisco Franco.

analysis of the system, leading to an informed, circum-spect consensus as to what changes, if any, are now indicated.

The more I think about it, reflect on it and experience its reality, the more convinced I become that the Catholic school system—which certainly came into existence in response to a need—has become what it is today not so much through an organic, intelligently and rationally ordered growth as through accidental accretions, the cumulative weight of layers of random decisions which may well have been ordered to particular local needs, but which failed to take into consideration questions of total educational resources, the most effective deployment and employment of these resources, the economic limitations of the layman, the establishment of

a priority of educational needs, and a realistic, objective appraisal of the educational resources of the secular school.

Two facts, it seems to me, are going to force, if not the national self-analysis that seems to be required, at least a good deal of sober questioning which will point unerringly in the direction of analysis and of an openness to reform of our grade school and high school structure, if reform is indicated.

The first fact is the relative decrease in the number of teaching sisters. I believe Fr. Joseph H. Fichter, S. J., has observed that the absolute number of women's religious vocations has been increasing, but the demand for teaching sisters has increased at a greater rate. The second fact is the economic limitations of the Catholic family. And these two facts are obviously related to each other. To the extent that lay teachers must be hired to complete the teaching staff of our parochial schools and Catholic high schools, the financial burden on the layman becomes increasingly intolerable and in some instances it can already be described as "crushing." This is particularly and acutely true in new parishes, where mortgage indebtedness ranges from \$500,000 to \$1 million.

As one pastor of a mushrooming suburban parish told me the other day (his parish's mortgage is \$710,000, and he has an already overcrowded school staffed by five nuns and ten lay teachers), "something's got to give." In another parish similarly situated, the average property tax is \$450 a year; in some school districts, 70 per cent of this revenue is used to construct and operate the public schools.

Nor does the burden ease when the Catholic children reach high school age. Quite the contrary. One Catholic father I know was delighted when his eighth-grade son met the stiff entrance examination requirements of a Catholic high school in his community, but at the same time he winced at the tuition fee, well in excess of \$300 a year. His property tax of about \$600 a year pays for what happens to be an excellent public high school in his suburban village. He could, perhaps, stagger through, at this \$1,000-a-year clip, if he had only one child to educate. He has five. And then college and university!

Regardless of what certain critics may think and say, the parochial school burden is not something saddled onto Catholic parents by the clergy or the hierarchy. As any suburban pastor will attest, woe betide him if he dares to erect a church and not a school in his new parish. The people are demanding Catholic education. The question is: have they the financial resources to bring into being genuine Catholic education? Are overworked sisters, and rusty lay teachers pressed into permanent "emergency" service, able to bring it into being? Only the rash one will give a quick Yes to either of these questions.

At a recent National Catholic Educational Association convention, Most Rev. Lawrence J. Shehan, Bishop of Bridgeport, raised a question that I keep hearing in other less public circumstances. The bishop asked whether it would not be worth a trial to concentrate

Catholic educational resources, in certain preselected areas, at the high school level. The significant point of the bishop's question is not that he apparently feels the high school level is the most important and promising level on which to expend our academic strength; rather it is that he believes—as I have found many others believing—that we may have come to a point in the history of American Catholic education where we will indeed have to choose: either grade school or secondary school.

On the level of higher education, AMERICA has well pointed out that proliferation of Catholic colleges invites a dangerous thinning of teaching and research staffs. And the U. S. Catholic community is not so richly endowed in this area that it can treat that danger lightly. Indeed, evidence indicates we have not, in fact, always been able to avoid that danger. Also, the growing gap between the token tuition of our tax-supported State universities and the \$700- to \$1,000-a-year tuition of Catholic universities seems now to be taking its toll in terms of lower registration figures at the latter institutions.

I am not, in all of this, by any means suggesting that the solution to what may be an intolerable economic burden for Catholic parents is the abandonment, in whole or in part, of the Catholic school system. More equitable intradiocesan distribution of parish funds (the honorable Christian tradition of the rich helping the poor applies here); tax-relief for Catholic parents through appropriate legislative enactment at the State and/or Federal level (in a form acceptable to all partisans in the argument over Church-State relations); pooling of Catholic academic facilities and the consequent elimination of uselessly duplicated facilities—these are only a few of the alternatives to whole or partial abandonment.

Critical analysis, scientific research, self-study, reform of the structure, if need be—these are the most contributive things, I think, that friends, beneficiaries, operators and directors of the Catholic school system could do for it at this time.

DONALD McDONALD

## Lame

Fashioned for flight,  
I creep.  
I clutch at a rolling stone,  
a fallen leaf  
as I inch my ascent  
urged by a song  
that no other music can cover.

Fashioned for flight,  
I weep.  
Father, remember a sparrow  
with crippled wings.

SISTER ALMA, S.P.



# The Constitution Is Color-Blind

Richard J. Regan

**B**Y CHANCE OR DESIGN, the principal legal issue raised by the Negro sit-down strike demonstrations at lunch counters in Southern States is already before the U. S. Supreme Court. On February 23, the court agreed to review the conviction of Bruce Boynton, a Negro student of Howard University. While traveling by bus through Virginia, the student asked for, but was denied, service at a Richmond terminal lunch counter "for whites only." Refusing to leave, he was arrested for trespass on private property, convicted and fined ten dollars. Counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who are handling Boynton's case, contend that prosecution by the State is prohibited State action within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The key words in the NAACP contention are "State action." The Fourteenth Amendment prohibits a State from denying to any person the "equal protection of the laws." In *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kan.*, 349 U. S. 294 (1954), racial segregation in public education was held to be "inherently unequal." And in a series of subsequent cases the court has extended the decision against segregation in public education to prohibit segregation, enforced under State or local law, in buses, parks, libraries and other facilities. Undoubtedly, any State or local legislation enforcing racial segregation in restaurants would also be unconstitutional.

## AN OFFENSE AGAINST THE STATE?

But was there discriminatory State action against Bruce Boynton? Mr. Boynton was not arrested for violating a law enforcing racial segregation in public eating places; he was arrested for trespass on private property. The restaurant refused to serve him *on its own*, with an eye, to be sure, to local custom. This set of facts is important and raises serious questions.

The Fourteenth Amendment, as interpreted by the court, prohibits only racially discriminatory State action. This question was settled early in the history of the Amendment as a result of Congress's attempt in 1875 to implement the newly acquired freedom and rights secured to the Negro by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. The last Radical Republican Congress passed a Civil Rights Act which made it a misdemeanor to deny to any person, on the basis of color, equal rights or privileges in inns, theatres or

transportation facilities. But the Supreme Court, reviewing the Act in 1883, denied that Congress had any power over violations of civil rights by private individuals. The Fourteenth Amendment, the court said, prohibits only State, not private, discriminatory action. Hence, Congress may enact only legislation corrective of such State action.

However, in 1948 the Supreme Court expanded the concept of State action to include the use of the State's judicial machinery to enforce restrictive covenants. A State court enjoined a Negro who had purchased a house from possessing the property, at the request of other home-owners who were parties to a racially restrictive covenant. Although that restrictive covenant was solely a private contract, the Supreme Court unanimously held its enforcement to be racially discriminatory State action and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Thus, restrictive covenants today enjoy the paradoxical status of legal private contracts which are publicly unenforceable.

The issue raised by the Boynton case is whether prosecution for trespass on private property open to the general public for business is racially discriminatory State action within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. And the issue explicit in this case is implicit in the series of Negro sit-down demonstrations.

On the one hand, those who deny the legality of the State's prosecution of Mr. Boynton claim that the State placed its enforcement machinery at the disposal of racially discriminatory practices. The owner of a restaurant may have the legal right to discriminate between races, they say, but the State may not aid those practices by criminal prosecutions. As in the restrictive covenant case, so here the State may not enforce private racially discriminatory practices.

On the other hand, those who defend the legality of the State's prosecution for trespass argue that the State is not acting to enforce racial discrimination, but to enforce the right of a private business to the control of its property and operations. If the State could not enforce the property rights of a restaurant owner, could it enforce the property rights of a private club or private homeowner?

Mr. Boynton's prosecution for trespass raises the question of whether or where to limit the principle, advanced in the restrictive covenant case, that State enforcement of private racial discrimination is unconstitutional. If State action which in any way operates to aid racial discrimination is unconstitutional, then could a private club practicing racial discrimination call on

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RICHARD J. REGAN, S.J., a student at Harvard Law School prior to his seminary studies, is now teaching philosophy at St. Peter's College, Jersey City, N. J.

the State to enforce its rights of association and property? Denial of the right to enforcement by the State in such cases might, while controlling racial discrimination, unleash a potentially far greater plague on the rights of free association and secure possession of property. For the prohibition against aid to racial discrimination by public authority here conflicts with the guarantees of free association and secure possession of property.

#### IS A RESTAURANT PRIVATE PROPERTY?

The merits of State enforcement of racial discrimination by a private club may be disputed. But whatever decision may be reached in that regard, Mr. Boynton's prosecution for trespass is the outcome of radically different circumstances. First of all, a "private" restaurant open to the public is private only in terms of its ownership. Since the restaurant provides a relatively necessary service to the public, the public preserves a significant interest in its operations. Second, unlike a private club, a restaurant opens its doors to the general public of good behavior who are prepared to pay. As a business activity, it may claim no interest in selectivity among those observing the proper amenities other than the law of supply and demand. When a restaurant calls on the State to enforce a policy of racial discrimination, it may not invoke a right to association or property—these it has relinquished upon opening its own doors to the general public. Moreover, the public's relative need for restaurants may place responsibility on the owners to serve all without distinction of race. In these circumstances, arguments for State enforcement of racial discrimination based merely on the grounds of the private ownership of restaurants or lunch counters seem seriously weakened. For reasons similar to these, in fact, the English common law required inns to serve all well-behaved customers.

If the Supreme Court declares that Virginia, by prosecuting Mr. Boynton for trespass, is denying him equal protection of the laws, a new crisis would confront an already embattled South. For, without enforcement, racial segregation in public places, a foundation stone in the South's feudal social structure, would be threatened with collapse. Indeed, for adult Southern whites the breakdown of segregation in public places could have an impact more immediate and more experiential than the breakdown of segregation in the public schools.

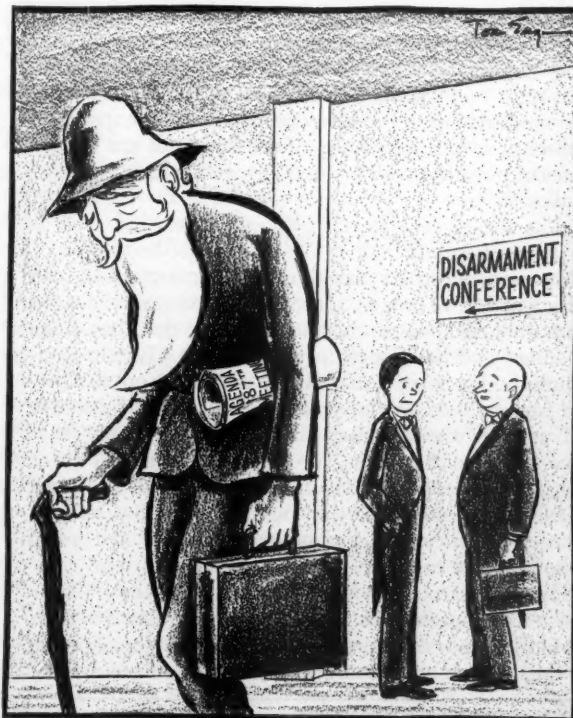
Of course, the South might find subterfuges by means of which racial discrimination in public places would survive. As by trial and error the South discovered the magic formula of "pupil placement" to avoid anything but a token integration in public education, so the South might find new methods of preserving her social system. Time alone would test the legality and the effectiveness of the methods employed.

But if Mr. Boynton's conviction were reversed, not only the South, but the Supreme Court, too, would become a new storm center. Critics of the court who are sensitive to the rights of the States and the freedom of business—but not to their responsibilities—would condemn the decision as a "usurpation" and as "judi-

cial legislation." The court would in fact find itself in an anomalous position. While in the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883 the court denied to Congress the power to protect the Negro from private racial discrimination in public places, now the court itself would exercise the power to end private racial discrimination in public places by prohibiting State enforcement!

Quite possibly in the Boynton case the Supreme Court may never reach the question of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. For Mr. Boynton was traveling in interstate commerce and he asked to be served at a bus-terminal lunch counter. Racial segregation on interstate bus and rail transportation under color of State law has already been held an unreasonable burden on interstate commerce. And, following this line of reasoning, the court may also consider racial discrimination in terminal facilities by the owner an unreasonable burden on interstate commerce. But if in the Boynton case the Supreme Court succeeds in sidestepping the issue of State enforcement of racial discrimination in public places, the current sit-down demonstrations—entirely intrastate—will be sure to present it squarely. The court may postpone but cannot escape this issue.

If the Supreme Court decides that no State may enforce racial segregation by businesses open to the public, the consequences will be momentous for the Negro, the South and the court. Justice Harlan's profession of faith in 1896 may yet become historical fact: "Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."



Rip Van Winkle?—No, Just a Delegate to the Test-Ban Conference

# Morality and Foreign Policy

*John Courtney Murray, S. J.*

**R**ECENTLY, within a segment of the American people, an argument has been set afoot concerning morality and foreign policy. The parties to it have been Protestants; hence they have defined the issues in terms of Protestant moral theory. Protestant moral theory, however, is in a sort of fluid transitional state, considerably in conflict with itself; hence the problem of defining moral issues in public policy has been further complicated by a more fundamental argument about the norms and methods of moral judgment itself.

Against an older fundamentalism that found in simple scriptural maxims the solutions to even the most complicated social and political problems—with disastrous results to the structure of the problems—a newer school has arisen. I have called it “ambiguism,” because of its fondness for the word “ambiguous” as a term of moral judgment. It emphasizes the complexity of moral issues as they arise in society and state; it asserts that in all the concrete situations with which public policy has to deal the elements of right and wrong are so inextricably mixed as to be indistinguishable; hence it claims that every public action or policy is “ambiguous,” that is, both right and wrong. Nonetheless, the ambiguists, like the simplists, protest their opposition to the political realists or cynics, to whom all public issues are simply issues of power in which moral judgments have no place at all.

## PSEUDO-PROBLEMS

My own terms of moral definition, argument and judgment are, of course, those of the tradition of reason in moral affairs—the ancient tradition that has been sustained and developed in the Catholic Church. Consequently, listening to the public argument on morality and foreign policy, I have found it difficult to discover just what all the shooting is about. Three major issues have come to the fore. The trouble is that all three seem to me factitious. From where I sit, so to speak, in the moral universe, they are all pseudo-problems. Were I to enter the argument, this is the first point I should have to make.

The Protestant moralist is disturbed by the gulf between the morality of individual and collective man. He is forever trying somehow to close the gap. Forever he fails, not only in doing this but even in seeing how

it could possibly be done. Thus he is driven back upon the simplist category of “ambiguity.” Or he sadly admits an unresolvable dichotomy between moral man and immoral society.

I am obliged to say that the whole practical problem is falsely conceived in consequence of a defective theory. No such pseudo-problem arises within the tradition of reason—or, if you will, in the ethic of natural law. Society and the state are understood to be natural institutions with their own relatively autonomous ends or purposes, which are predesigned in broad outline in the social and political nature of man, as understood in its concrete completeness through reflection and historical experience. These purposes are public, not private. They are therefore strictly limited. They do not transcend the temporal and terrestrial order, within which the political and social life of man is confined; and even within this order they are not coextensive with the ends of the human person as such. The obligatory public purposes of society and the state impose on these institutions a special set of obligations which, again by nature, are not coextensive with the wider and higher range of obligations that rest upon the human person (not to speak of the Christian). In a word, the imperatives of political and social morality derive from the inherent order of political and social reality itself, as the architectonic moral reason conceives this necessary order in the light of the fivefold structure of obligatory political ends—justice, freedom, security, the general welfare, and civil unity or peace (so the Preamble to the American Constitution states these ends).

It follows, then, that the morality proper to the life and action of society and the state is not univocally the morality of personal life, or even of familial life. Therefore the effort to bring the organized action of politics and the practical art of statecraft directly under the control of the Christian values that govern personal and familial life is inherently fallacious. It makes wreckage not only of public policy but also of morality itself.

Again, the Protestant moralist is deeply troubled by the fact that nations and states have the incorrigible habit of acting in their own self-interest, and thus violating the fundamental canon of morality which sees in self-concern the basic sin. Here again is a pseudo-problem. I am, of course, much troubled by the question of the national interest, but chiefly lest it be falsely identified in the concrete, thus giving rise to politically stupid policies. But since I do not subscribe to a Kantian “morality of intention,” I am not at all troubled by the

FR. MURRAY, S.J., editor of *Theological Studies* and former associate editor of *AMERICA*, here concludes the discussion of “ambiguism” he began last week.



centrality of self-interest as the motive of national action. From the point of view of political morality, as determined by the purposes inherent in the state, this motive is both legitimate and necessary.

There is, however, one reservation. I do not want self-interest interpreted in the sense of the classic theory of *raison d'état*, which was linked to the modern concept of the absolute sovereignty of the nation-state. This latter concept imparted to the notion of national self-interest an absoluteness that was always as illegitimate as it is presently outworn. The tradition of reason requires, with particular stringency today, that national interest, remaining always valid and omnipresent as a *motive*, be given only a relative and proximate status as an *end* of national action. Political action stands always under the imperative to realize, at least in some minimal human measure, the fivefold structure of obligatory political ends. Political action by the nation-state projected in the form of foreign policy today stands with historical clarity (as it always stood with theoretical clarity in the tradition of reason) under the imperative to realize this structure of political ends in the international community, within the limits—narrow but real—of the possible. Today, in fact as in theory, the national interest must be related to this international realization, which stands higher and more ultimate in political value than itself.

No false theoretical dichotomy may be thrust in here. The national interest, rightly understood, is successfully achieved only at the interior, as it were, of the growing international order to which the pursuit of national interest can and must contribute. There is, of course, the practical problem of defining the concrete policies that will be successful at once in the national interest and in the higher interest of international order. The casuistry is endlessly difficult. In any case, one ought to spare oneself unnecessary theoretical agonies, whose roots are often in sentimentalism; as, for instance, the effort to justify foreign aid in terms of pure disinterested Christian charity. To erect some sort of inevitable opposition between the pursuit of national interest and the true imperatives of political morality is to create a pseudo-problem.

#### POWER AND POLITICS

The third source of Protestant moral anxiety is the problem of power. The practical problem, as put to policy, is enormously complicated in the nuclear age, in the midst of a profound historical crisis of civilization, and over against an ideology of force that is also a spreading political imperialism. This, however, is surely no reason for distorting the problem by thrusting into it a set of theoretically false dilemmas—by saying, for instance, that to use power is prideful and therefore bad, and not to use it is irresponsible and therefore worse. The tradition of reason declines all such reckless simplism. It rejects the cynical dictum of Lenin that "the state is a club." On the other hand, it does not attempt to fashion the state in the image of an Eastern-seaboard "liberal" who at once abhors power and adores it (since by him, emergent from the matrix

of American Protestant culture, power is unconsciously regarded as satanic). The traditional ethic starts with the assumption that, as there is no law without force to vindicate it, so there is no politics without power to promote it. All politics is power politics—up to a point.

The point is set by multiple criteria. To be drastically brief, the essential criterion is the distinction between force and violence. Force is the measure of power necessary and sufficient to uphold the valid purposes both of law and of politics. What exceeds this measure is violence, which destroys the order both of law and of politics. The distinction is teleological, in the customary style of the tradition of reason. As an instrument, force is morally neutral in itself. The standard of its use is aptitude or ineptitude for the achievement of the obligatory public purposes. Here again the casuistry is endlessly difficult, especially when the moralist's refusal to sanction too much force clashes with the soldier's



classic reluctance to use too little force. In any case, the theory is clear enough. The same criterion which governs the state in its use of coercive law for the public purposes also governs the state in its use of force, again for the public purposes. The function of law, said the Jurist, is to be useful to the community; this too is the function of force.

The community, as the Jurist knew, is neither a choir of angels nor a pack of wolves. It is simply the human community which, in proportion as it is civilized, strives to maintain itself in some small margin of safe distance from the chaos of barbarism. For this effort the only resources directly available to the community are those which first rescued it from barbarism, namely, the resources of reason, made operative chiefly through the processes of reasonable law, prudent public policies, and a discriminatingly apt use of force.

(Note here that Christianity profoundly altered the structure of politics by introducing the revolutionary idea of the two communities, two orders of law and two authorities; but it did not change the nature of politics, law and government, which still remain rational processes; to the quality of these processes Christian faith and grace contribute only indirectly, by their inner effect upon man himself, which is in part the correction and clarification of the processes of reason.)

The necessary defense against barbarism is, therefore, an apparatus of state that embodies both reason and force in a measure that is at least decently conformable with what man has learned, by rational reflection and historical experience, to be necessary and useful to sustain his striving towards the life of civility. The historical success of the civilized community in

this continuing effort of the forces of reason to hold at bay the counterforces of barbarism is no more than marginal. The traditional ethic, which asserts the doctrine of the rule of reason in public affairs, does not expect that man's historical success in installing reason in its rightful rule will be much more than marginal. But the margin makes the difference.

All this is the sort of thing that the theorist of natural law would have first to say were he to enter on the ground floor, so to speak, of the controversy about morality and public policy. He could not possibly argue concrete problems of policy in the moral terms of the ambiguiist. Insofar as these terms are intelligible to him at all, they seem to him questionable in themselves and creative of pseudo-problems in the field of policy. In turn, the Protestant moralist, whatever his school, cannot possibly argue questions of policy in the moral terms of the tradition of reason. The tradition is alien to him at every point—in its intellectualism, its theological emphasis, its insistence on the analogical character of the structures of life (personal, familial, political, social), its assignment of primacy to the objective end of the act over the subjective intention of the agent, and its casuistical niceties. At best, the whole theory is unintelligible; at worst it is an idolatry of reason and an evacuation of the Gospel.

It has also become customary to point out that, whatever the merits of the tradition, it is dead; in the sense of Nietzsche's dictum, "God is dead." So I was told recently. It happened that I wrote a little piece on the traditional moral doctrine on the limitations of warfare, as fashioned by the tradition of reason. A friendly critic, Prof. Julian Hartt of the Yale Divinity School, had this to say: "Father Murray has not, I believe, clearly enough come to terms with the question behind every serious consideration of limited war as a moral option, i.e., where are the ethical principles to fix the appropriate limits? *Where*, not *what*: can we make out the lineaments of the community which is the living repository (as it were) of the ethical principles relevant and efficacious to the moral determinations of the limits of warfare?" This is a fair question.

After a look around the national lot, Professor Hartt comes to the conclusion that the American community does not qualify; it is not the living repository of what the tradition of reason has said on warfare. I am compelled regretfully to agree that he is right. Such is the fact. I would further say that the American community, especially in its "clerks," who are the custodians of the public philosophy, is not the repository of the tradition of reason on any moral issue you would like to name. This ancient tradition—like the Eternal Reason of God, to which it makes its initial and final appeal—is dead. (It lives, if you will, within the Catholic community; but this community fails to bring it into vital relation with the problems of foreign policy; there seems, in fact, to be some reason for saying that the Catholic community is not much interested in foreign affairs, beyond its contribution in sustaining the domestic mood of anti-communism.)

But if it be the fact that the tradition of natural law,

once vigorous in America, is now dead, a serious question arises. What then is the moral doctrine on which America bases its national action, especially its foreign policy?

#### "DON'T SHOOT FIRST"

One could put the question in the first instance to the Government. It is clear that the Department of Defense and its allied agencies find sufficient moral warrant for their policies in their loyalty to the good old Western-story maxim: "Don't shoot first." With the moral issue thus summarily disposed of, they set policy under the primal control of that powerful dyarchy, technology and the budget, which conspire to accumulate weapons that, from the moral point of view, are unshootable, no matter who shoots first. Those who are disquieted by this situation—which is not ambiguous but simply wrong—are invited to find comfort in the emanations of crypto-pacifism from the White House, which seems to hold that we shall never shoot at all. The moral argument for this unambiguous position, whose simplism rivals that of the ambiguiists, is never made clear. The inquiry into the moral bases of policy would likely produce other weird and wonderful answers, if elsewhere pursued—within the Department of State, for instance, with regard to disarmament, foreign aid and diplomatic *démarches* among the uncommitted or emergent nations.

In any case, the question is perhaps more appropriately put to the American community at large. The theory of American government seems to be that public policies borrow, as it were, their morality from the conscience of the people. Right policies, as well as due powers, derive from the consent of the governed. Therefore, on what structured concept of the moral order does the American people undertake to fulfill its traditional public moral right and duty, which is to judge, direct, correct, and then consent to, the courses of foreign policy?

There is a sentimental subjectivist scriptural fundamentalism. But this theory by definition has nothing to say about foreign policy; it is at best a theory of interpersonal relationships and therefore irrelevant to international relations, which are not interpersonal. There is also moral ambiguiism. But this, in the final analysis, is not properly a moral theory. It is perhaps a technique of historical analysis, highly doctrinaire in style; but it is not an ethical philosophy. It is an interesting paradoxical structure of rhetorical categories; but it is not a normative doctrine that could base discriminating moral judgments. All norms vanish amid the multiplying paradoxes; and all discrimination is swallowed up in the cavernous interior of the constantly recurrent verdict: "This action is morally ambiguous."

The school of ambiguiist thought has done some useful negative service by its corrosive critique of older types of moral simplism and political utopianism. But it has no positive constructive power to fashion purposeful public policies in an age of crisis. It can throw rocks after the event, but it can lay no cornerstones. It points out all the moral hazards, and takes none. The self-

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contradiction inherent in sin is indeed a massive fact of the human condition; but not for this reason, or any other, does ambiguity become a virtue in moral judgment. Ambiguism can judge no policies save those that history has already judged. It can direct no policies because it can specify no ends toward which policy should be directed. And it can correct no policies since all policies deserve by definition the same qualification, "ambiguous," and what use is it to correct one ambiguous course by substituting another? We can discard ambiguity as the moral premise of public policy.

#### WHAT IS LEFT?

What is there left? There is, of course, the pseudo-morality of secular liberalism, especially of the academic variety. Its basic premise is a curious version of the Socratic paradox, that knowledge is virtue; it asserts that, if only we really could get to understand everybody, our foreign policy would inevitably be good. The trouble is that the past failures of the political intelligence of secular liberalism, and its demonstrated capacities for misunderstanding, have already pretty much discredited it.

Finally, there is the ubiquitous pragmatist, whose concern is only with what will work. But he too wins no confidence, since most of us have already learned from the pragmatist source of truth, which is history, that whatever is not true will fail to work. We want to know the political truth that will base workable policies.

It would seem, therefore, that the moral footing has been eroded from beneath the political principle of consent, which has now come to designate nothing more than the technique of majority opinion as the guide of public action—a technique as apt to produce fatuity in policy and tyranny of rule as to produce wisdom and justice. It was not always so. In the constitutional theory of the West the principle of consent found its moral basis in the belief, which was presumed sufficiently to be the fact, that the people are the living repository of a moral tradition, possessed at least as a heritage of wisdom, that enables them to know what is reasonable in the action of the state—its laws, its public policies, its uses of force. The people consent because it is reasonable to consent to what, with some evidence, appears as reasonable. Today no such moral tradition lives among the American people—certainly not, as Professor Hartt suggests, the tradition of reason, which is known as the ethic of natural law. Those who seek the ironies of history should find one here, in the fact that the ethic which launched Western constitutionalism and endured long enough as a popular heritage to give essential form to the American system of government has now ceased to sustain the structure and direct the action of this constitutional commonwealth.

The situation is not such as to gladden the heart. But at least one knows the right question in the present matter. It is not how foreign policy is to be guided by the norms of morality. It is, rather, what is the morality by whose norms foreign policy is to be guided?

## BOOKS

### A Major Writer Who Chose Tyranny

**BRECHT: The Man and His Work**  
By Martin Esslin. Doubleday. 360p. \$4.50

One of the perennial hit songs of the American juke-box repertory—"Machie the Knife," from the *Threepenny Opera*—was written more than thirty years ago as a battle song of the Communist class struggle. While Americans listen to it in drug stores and saloons and mistake it for American folk music, other works by Bert Brecht, the author of that song, are today presented by eager young actors in off-Broadway and college theatres. Brecht's plays, stories and poems are passionately discussed and analyzed by American high-brows. He is surely the only writer of the Soviet realm whose influence on the West considerably surpasses his echo in the East.

When Brecht, a tried and true Communist, appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, he fooled his inquisitors so completely with a few dialectical tricks that they thanked him for his cooperation and praised his honesty. This was merely one of the minor paradoxes in the life of the puzzling, immensely gifted Communist playwright and poet.

Both the life and work of Brecht (who died in 1956 at the age of 58) are skillfully presented by Martin Esslin, a Hungarian-born, Austrian-educated, British writer and broadcaster.

Brecht, descendant of a Bavarian upper-middle-class family, was a product of the brilliant chaos that was Germany after World War I. Up to a point, his story is the old story of a youthful, rebellious, bitter artist and Communist.

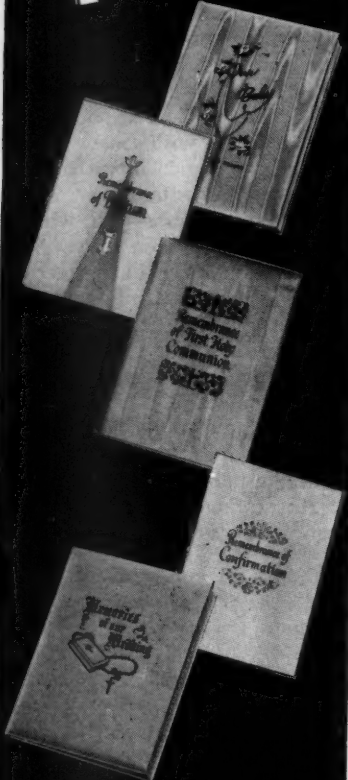
However, in contrast to other major artists and intellectuals who turned into Communists or fellow travelers, Brecht considered his communism no mere emotional binge, passing fashion, Bohemian game or vehicle of self-pity. For him it was the very center and main-spring of his art.

While Brecht was much too intelligent not to see some fallacies and contradictions in his doctrine, he seemed tied to it with a faith that surpassed understanding. From his life and writings we can only guess what drove him into his strange submission to Marxian theorems, petty party censors and Moscow murderers. His submission was so complete that he voluntarily wrote a letter endorsing the assault of Soviet tanks against revolting East German workers in June, 1953.

From his early years Brecht hated his mother, his surroundings, "the ruling order" and all the values of civilization. In this spirit, throughout his adult life and with tremendous energy, he wrote tragedies, comedies, morality



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plays, novels, short stories, poems, didactic and theoretical treatises and essays, libretti for operas and ballets—all admittedly with the purpose of supporting the class struggle. These writings range in quality from bold, if not beautiful, works of arts to pitiful trash.

Brecht lived through the German Red Decade that followed World War I in Berlin; after Hitler's ascent to power, he went into exile in the West, which he preferred to exile in Moscow; after World War II he was in East Berlin, despite his Austrian citizenship and his Swiss bank accounts. All this time Brecht showed astonishing versatility—or, perhaps, open-mindedness—in the forms of his writing, but his message remained without a life of its own, since it was merely a transcribing of the party line. Nevertheless, the power of Brecht's language, the genius of his poetic and dramatic style, the moral honesty of his immoral beliefs, forcefully appealed to many listeners, especially the young of Western Europe.

Western Europe applauded Brecht's stage productions, but they could not even be published, let alone performed, in Soviet Russia and its satellite countries, except East Germany, despite the abject submissiveness with which Brecht demonstrated his obedience to Moscow. The Soviet rulers understood that the spark of rebellion and the search for new forms in his work were dangerous to the Soviet spirit. They also understood, however, that these very qualities would appeal to the West.

Mr. Esslin's story of Brecht's life is somewhat sketchy, but his comprehensive discussion and perceptive analysis of Brecht's work is fascinating. To a high degree Esslin succeeds in solving the puzzle of a major writer who violated his creative genius and stubbornly, if not enthusiastically, chose tyranny.

NORBERT MUHLEN

## Shouts From the Top

**FOR VICTORY IN PEACEFUL  
COMPETITION WITH CAPITALISM**

By Nikita S. Khrushchev. Dutton. 784p.  
\$3.95

This collection of utterances that Soviet Premier Khrushchev made during the year 1958 is hailed on the jacket as "a publishing event of the greatest magnitude . . . the first book by Premier Khrushchev to be published in the United States. . . ." Perhaps, but the Moscow edition was available in English translation last year, without the special introduction.

Because Khrushchev treats many

topics in his own off-hand way, it would take another book to comment on them. However, his thesis is in the title. The suppositions are that the Soviet Union is working for peace and that the United States is the major obstacle to peace.

Among the many statements growing out of this thesis, Premier Khrushchev proclaims in his "special" introduction that

Mankind has approached a time when the peoples are faced with a choice—either peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems or a disastrous nuclear war.

Since the author claims to follow Marxist-Leninist theory, it may be profitable to examine his assertion briefly in the light of that theory.

The new Khrushchev statement is, in fact, a revision of the Marxist conception known as "the conflict of opposites." This concept was the foundation stone of the whole Leninist theory of world revolution, as indicated in Lenin's *Filosofskie Tetradi*. In 1914, when he discussed the purposes of the Third International (Comintern), Lenin indicated that there was only one way to victory—a revolutionary attack against the capitalist governments in the whole world and their overthrow (cf. his article, "The War and the Russian Social-Democracy").

After the Soviet state was established, it was proclaimed that the contradictions between the socialist and capitalist systems were irreconcilable and that the collision between them was inevitable. The so-called international proletarian hymn, "The Internationale," became the national anthem of the Soviet Union after 1917 and its concluding words thunder: "It will be our last and decisive fight!"

In explaining the Marxist concept of the "conflict of opposites," the Large Soviet Encyclopedia states:

At the present time the struggle is going on between the two opposed camps—the camps of democracy and socialism under the leadership of the USSR and the anti-democratic and imperialist camp under the leadership of the U.S.A. (2nd ed., 1950, vol. 5, p. 615).

And now it appears that, faced with the menace of a nuclear war, the Soviet Government has been forced to look for another approach to foreign policy. The long-predominant doctrine of the "conflict of opposites" has been forgotten conveniently by the self-styled champion of Marxism-Leninism.

It is difficult to believe that the American reader will take Khrushchev

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at face value in his promise that the Soviet Armed Forces will not be used for aggressive war (p. 750). The sad events of World War II beginning with the war between the USSR and Finland (December, 1939–March, 1940) are still too easily remembered. It is enough to recall that, together with their attack on Finland, the Soviets announced the Finnish revolution and proclaimed the new Finnish Soviet Government.

It becomes slightly ridiculous, therefore, when the author extolls the "scientific foresight" of Marx and Lenin. If Khrushchev has really adopted the policy of "peaceful coexistence," then he himself has shown the error of the Marxist-Leninist concept outlined earlier. But, nonetheless, he does blithely assert to the graduates of the military academies:

We live at the wonderful time when the scientific foresight of our great teachers, Marx and Lenin, about the triumph of socialism over moribund capitalism is coming true.

Western progress and its distance from the capitalism of Marx are not well known, unfortunately, to Khrushchev's audiences. On the other hand, Soviet social and economic conditions are fairly appraised outside the Soviet Union. This book will scarcely convince anybody of the advantages of socialism.

CONSTANTINE G. KRYPTON

## Work to Be Done

### PHILOSOPHY IN THE MASS AGE

By George P. Grant. Hill and Wang. 128p. \$3

These essays were first presented as an introduction to moral philosophy for a general radio audience. Their major theme is that the tragic flaw in the materialism of democratic capitalism and of Marxism is the failure to provide a basic moral law.

To communicate this conviction to his audience, Grant adopts a historical approach rather than a systematic one. In this way, he presents what he very correctly believes is a central problem of modern moral philosophy: how can a natural law doctrine be reconciled with the truth of our freedom or the truth of our progress?

Grant observes that the natural law doctrine is to be found in the ancient civilizations of Greece, Rome, India, China and European peoples up to 200 years ago, and that it is still the cornerstone of the ethical theory of the Roman

Catholic Church. This doctrine holds that

there is an order in the universe which human reason can discover and according to which the human will must act so that it can attune itself to the universal harmony.

But, as Grant sees clearly, the Judeo-Christian idea of history as the divinely ordained process of salvation, culminating in the Kingdom of God, introduced the spirit of progress. This idea becomes the idea of history as progress, culminating in the Kingdom of Man. For the idea of freedom transformed history as providence into history as progress.

Then, in the 18th and 19th centuries God is not attacked on the pessimistic grounds of the evil that is present in nature, but on the optimistic grounds that belief in God turns men away from changing the world. Accordingly, in the light of the new freedom

men no longer believed that they lived under a natural law which they did not make and which they had been created to obey. They came to see themselves as the makers of their own laws and values.

Grant does not shy away from pointing out that this pose characterizes the materialism of both democratic capitalism and Marxism.

Marxism was a humanism of universal salvation, and it was very concrete and practical about the means of salvation. For Marx's humanism retains the idea of history as salvation, but without theological framework. Also, Grant points to the fact that democratic capitalist morality has no place for the idea of spiritual law. In many respects the Marxists have a greater sense of the world as a spiritual order. However, Western capitalism has an incomparably greater sense of the individual as the source of freedom. It remains for the Western world to reconstruct a doctrine of natural law.

Grant's perception of the problem is keen. Unfortunately, he accepts the Kantian notion that in morality men self-legislate the law. Although he is quite aware that he must not confuse Protestant ethics with the traditional Roman Catholic doctrine of the natural law, he admits that he is not very well acquainted with the Catholic doctrine. Grant's book reminds those within the Catholic tradition that there is work to be done—in enriching the notions of "purpose," "history," "nature," "freedom" and "evil," and in communicating the traditional doctrine to an interested non-Scholastic world.

WALTER E. STOKES, S.J.

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## THE ENEMY WITHIN

By Robert F. Kennedy. Harper. 338p. \$3.95

Even those who often disagree with Arthur Krock, the learned and pontifical columnist of the *New York Times*, will approve the estimate expressed in his foreword to this book that here is "an authoritative narrative of one of the most famous episodes in modern Congressional history."

The McClellan committee should not soon be forgotten, because the matter it dealt with—improper activities in the labor and management field—is of the highest moment to the health of our industrial society. It is not the least of the merits of this inside story of the committee's work that it will serve to keep fresh in many minds the urgency of the problem long after the headlines have faded from memory.

Robert F. Kennedy, the youthful former chief counsel of the committee, wisely avoided the temptation to compose a full-scale, detailed history of the probe. Instead he has concentrated on the high lights, with special attention, naturally, to the Brotherhood of Teamsters.

This emphasis on the Teamsters is justified, not merely by their prominence in the investigation, but even more by the skillful efforts that have since been made, and continue to be made, to portray James Riddle Hoffa as a much maligned and persecuted but devoted and constructive leader of labor. Readers of Mr. Kennedy's book will be helped to understand why the AFL-CIO—as President George Meany told a press conference in Miami Beach in February—still regards the international leadership of the Teamsters as corrupt and refuses to welcome Hoffa back into the fold.

What gives this book special value to those who followed the hearings closely are the author's frankness in explaining the inner workings of the committee and his willingness to editorialize. Among the most uninhibited chapters in his story are, for instance, those devoted to the political in-fighting within the committee and the part businessmen played in the hearings.

On the basis of Mr. Kennedy's story of the Auto Workers' probe, Senators Curtis, Goldwater and Mundt have some explaining to do. So have all those publications, including the *Wall Street Journal* and *Newsweek*, which gave currency to the rumor that the committee was unwilling for political reasons to investigate Walter Reuther and the United Auto Workers. Mr. Kennedy doesn't disguise his belief that this false

and malicious gossip originated in the committee and that it continued even after the GOP Senators, in the course of a showdown meeting, had expressed their satisfaction with the way in which the investigation was being conducted.

The author is equally blunt in his criticism of businessmen. Although he recognizes that "the majority of American businessmen are above crookedness and collusion in labor-management negotiations," he found that "many businessmen were willing to make corrupt 'deals' with dishonest union officials in order to gain competitive advantage or to make a few extra dollars."

Furthermore, Mr. Kennedy found that the committee could rarely count on the help of business groups. "Disturbing as it may sound," he writes, "more often the business people with whom we came in contact—and this includes some representatives of our largest corporations—were uncooperative." Mr. Kennedy contrasts the willingness of the AFL-CIO to move against corrupt affiliates, like the Teamsters and Bakers, with the foot-dragging of business groups. "Not one management group or association," he charges, "has made a single move to rid itself of members who were found to be involved in collusive deals."

In his foreword Mr. Krock warns the reader not to pass over Mr. Kennedy's proposal for a national crime commission, or his blue print for an ideal Congressional probe. The reviewer is happy to repeat that warning here.

The book is beautifully printed; it has a helpful index; and it carries eight pages of eloquent photographs. The reader will the more gladly pay the price fixed by the publisher when he learns that all the author's profits from the book will be devoted to helping retarded children.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

## THE YEAR THE WORLD WENT MAD

By Allen Churchill. Crowell. 311p. \$4.95

Apparently madness was the order of the day in 1927. Mr. Churchill has not had to embellish fact to put together a highly readable account of what was probably the last year of our national adolescence.

Certainly he had a good deal of material to work with, and one gets the impression that his main problem in delving through old issues of the *New York Times* was what kind of madness to eliminate from the story. With such diverse and fascinating characters as Lucky Lindy (and his countless not-so-lucky imitators), Peaches Browning, Cal

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AMERICA

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America • MARCH 26, 1960



Coolidge, Tex Guinan, Al Capone, Babe Ruth, Gene Tunney, Shipwreck Kelly, Jimmy Walker, Trudy Ederle, Henry Ford and Mayor Bill Thompson of Chicago, no clever journalist could miss in telling a story which would arouse some nostalgia for the Age of Wonderful Nonsense. If storm clouds were gathering over Wall Street or Munich beer halls, Mr. Churchill can be pardoned for not mentioning them; no one thought such dangers very serious in 1927.

What purpose does this book serve? A cynic might object that the author is far too lenient on the national faults which made the madness of 1927 possible. Such a cynic could claim that the faults are still very much with us and are now enshrined as part of the American way of life. He might add that there is considerably less justification for this madness in our far less innocent age.

ANDREW M. GREELEY

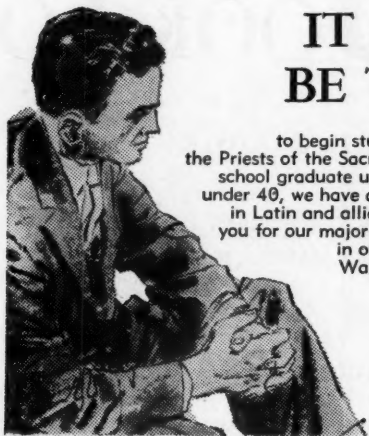
#### IRISH EARTH FOLK

By Diarmuid MacManus. Devin-Adair. 192p. \$3.75

As every reader of Irish poetry or folklore knows, a major portion of that enchanted island's population is made up of earth folk: fairies, leprechauns, cluricans, pookas, merrows, demons, blood-chilling elementals and hostile spirits. This book offers neither romantic verse nor dry research on the subject; it is a forthright collection of "eyewitness accounts" by Diarmuid MacManus, one of those many-sided Irishmen who defy the tag of specialist.

All of the experiences chronicled in the book took place during the past century (most of them during the past sixty years). Aside from their colorful or merry or bloodcurdling qualities, the stories compel attention and some judgment on our part because they are claimed to be authentic. This claim, of course, is made in a matter-of-fact manner. MacManus has taken down testimony from stolid shopkeepers, Protestant clergy, physicians and other professional people—most of them now living. In some cases he has altered their names. However, the question of belief is important, since MacManus and many others in Connacht believe the earth folk exist.

Frequently the author seems at a loss to reconcile the fairy folk with the tenets of Christianity. It is amiably suggested that fairies are "slightly fallen" angels, full of mischief and merriment. In his chapter on practitioners of white magic, such as Bidy Early and Bridget Walshe, MacManus recognizes the clash



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# AMERICA'S BOOK-LOG

## THE TEN BEST-SELLING BOOKS FOR MARCH

1. MSGR. RONALD KNOX By Evelyn Waugh. Little, Brown, \$5.00
2. THE CATHOLIC MARRIAGE MANUAL By George A. Kelly. Random House, \$4.95
3. THIS IS YOUR TOMORROW . . . AND TODAY By M. Raymond, O.C.S.O. Bruce, \$3.95
4. COUNSELLING THE CATHOLIC By George Hagmaier, C.S.P. and Robert W. Gleason, S.J. Sheed & Ward, \$4.50
5. THE DEVIL'S ADVOCATE By Morris L. West. Morrow, \$3.95
6. LAMPS OF LOVE By Louis Colin, C.S.S.R. Newman, \$4.00
7. LIGHTNING MEDITATIONS By Ronald Knox. Sheed & Ward, \$3.00
8. THE 1960 NATIONAL CATHOLIC ALMANAC Felician A. Foy, O.F.M., Editor. St. Anthony's Guild. (Distrib. by Doubleday). \$2.75
9. AMERICAN CATHOLICS: A Protestant-Jewish View Philip Scharper, Editor. Sheed & Ward, \$3.75
10. DELIVER US FROM EVIL By Thomas A. Dooley. Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, \$3.95

The stores listed below report their best-selling books during the current month. Popularity is estimated both by the frequency with which a book is mentioned and by its relative position in each report. The point system, plus the geographical spread of the stores, gives a good view of Catholic reading habits. Appreciation for the service can best be shown by patronizing the stores.

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 BOSTON, Benziger Bros., Inc., 95 Summer St.  
 CHICAGO, The Thomas More Association, 210 W. Madison St.  
 CINCINNATI, Benziger Bros., Inc., 429 Main St.  
 CINCINNATI, Frederick Pustet Co., Inc., 210 E. Fourth St.  
 CLEVELAND, Catholic Book Store, 1789 E. 11th St.  
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 COLUMBUS, Cathedral Book Shop, 205 E. Broad St.  
 DALLAS, The Catholic Book Store, 1513 Elm St.  
 DENVER, James Clarke Church Goods House, 1633 Tremont Pl.  
 DETROIT, E. J. McDevitt Co., 1230 Washington Blvd.  
 DETROIT, Van Antwerp Catholic Library and Pamphlet Shop, 1232 Washington Blvd.  
 GRAND RAPIDS, McGough & Son Co., 40 Division Ave., S.  
 HARRISBURG, The Catholic Shop, 410 No. Third St.  
 HARTFORD, Catholic Library of Hartford, 125 Market St.  
 HOLYOKE, Catholic Lending Library and Bookshop, 94 Suffolk St.  
 KANSAS CITY, Mo., Catholic Community Bookshop, 301 East Armour Blvd.  
 LOS ANGELES, C. F. Horan Co., 120 W. 2nd St.  
 LOUISVILLE, Rogers Church Goods Co., 129 S. 4th.  
 MANCHESTER, N. H., Book Bazaar, 410 Chestnut.  
 MILWAUKEE, The Church Mart, 779 N. Water St.  
 MINNEAPOLIS, Catholic Gift Shop, 37 South 8th St.  
 MONTREAL, Alvernia Publishing Co., Box 1300, Station "O"  
 NASHVILLE, St. Mary's Book Store, 508 Deaderick St.  
 NEW BEDFORD, Keatings Book House, 562 County St.  
 NEW HAVEN, The Saint Thomas More Gift Shop, 1102 Chapel St.

NEW YORK, Ave Maria Shop, 11 Barclay St.  
 NEW YORK, Benziger Bros., Inc., 6-8 Barclay St.  
 NEW YORK, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 12 Barclay St.  
 NEW YORK, Frederick Pustet Co., Inc., 14 Barclay St.  
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between ancient rites and the Church. Hostile spirits such as his "orchard elemental" are classified as malign and hateful.

The book is no treatise on religion or philosophy; it is full of fun and offers much information in painless fashion. MacManus is at his wittiest telling about the *foidin seachrain* (stray sod) and how this enchanted earth confuses wayfarers, causing them to become momentarily lost.

MacManus covers more ground than the book's title suggests. He discusses those household spirits, the *cluricans*; cites instances of how people have been afflicted with Fairy Hunger pangs; tells of white-magic cures effected on his own ancestral estate at Killeaden in Mayo. Probably his most incisive work is done in the chapter on hostile spirits. The stable demon, the orchard elemental and the creature on Bleak Spike Island are horrifying characters worthy of Poe, Mary Shelley or Bram Stoker.

At the least, this is a storyteller's entertaining survey of Ireland's ancient earth-bound residents. These spirits are durable. Where else do pookas guard lonely bridges, hillsides twinkle with thousands of unexplained lights, and engineers take care not to build across a fairy roadway?

PAUL F. GAVAGHAN

### THE HIDING PLACE

By Robert Shaw. World. 254p. \$3.50

The incredible premise on which the author has built his first novel is an extraordinarily intriguing one—that two British airmen, shot down over Germany during World War II, could be held captive in a subterranean cellar for almost eight years, and that they should see only one man during all that time. Of such material is the work of that great story teller, Isak Dinesen. But she manifested superb control of her material within her formal Gothic structure; Mr. Shaw is not that kind of master.

Not that the plot doesn't rattle and rocket along. It does. But the reader is more interested in the technical manipulation of the plot than in the destinies of Connolly and Wilson, the Britons. The suspension of the reader's disbelief becomes somewhat attenuated, despite brilliantly sustained suspense. The result is a curiously flat tour de force.

Wherein lies the problem? In the delineation, I think, of Connolly and Wilson. Frick, their German gaoler, is a particularly delightful psychopath whose idiosyncratic behavior has more dimensions of reality than that of either

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## Our Reviewers

NORBERT MUHLEN, a free-lance writer, is the author of *The Reform of Germany*.

CONSTANTINE G. KRYPTON, a former Soviet citizen, is now teaching Russian at Fordham's Institute of Contemporary Russian Studies.

WALTER E. STOKES, S.J., finished doctorate studies in philosophy at St. Louis University before joining the staff of AMERICA.

of his prisoners. Perhaps this is so because the author shows Frick actually performing daily tasks outside the physical dimensions of the prison. But Wilson and Connolly—via Shaw—must resort to flashback to give vitality to their somewhat sterile synonymity. And that seems to have been Shaw's deficiency: the airmen are too much alike in character and behavior, and each tends to diminish the other to superficial differentiation—sound signifying nothing.

If the reader expects only a rattling good adventure story with a deliciously ironic twist at the end, this pleasure he will get from *The Hiding Place*. And, nowadays, that's not a bad return for temporal reading investment.

JOHN M. COPPINGER

### A SEPARATE PEACE

By John Knowles. Macmillan. 186p. \$3.50

John Knowles' first novel, *A Separate Peace*, gives new insights into the turbulent and often violent period of adolescence. These insights have behind them a basis of objective reality. This reality exists in the one small sample of human experience that affected so completely the lives of two teen-agers. It exists in the stripping of the veneer from youth's callous but sensitive nature and revealing the embryo of manhood. It exists in the frightening knowledge that many youths are either ignorant of, or indifferent to, moral values; they have a sense of right and wrong but not of good and evil.

The story is centered around a New England preparatory school in 1942. Particularly, it concerns the relationship between two students—Gene, whose story it is, and Phineas. The brilliant Gene and the athletic Finny are surrounded by, and feel comfortable in, the familiar things of campus life; beyond the campus is the rest of the United States busily participating in

World War II. The war only touched Devon School accidentally—now here, now there. Lepellier, the first enlistee from the school, returns as a "psycho" and brings the war from beyond the campus and into the assembly hall. It was a real war.

The tragedy of *A Separate Peace* is not in the war. It is in Gene's character. His relations with Finny are bounded by both faith and its opposite, mistrust. Gene's one, blind, crazy act was intended to reduce the gifted Finny to the stature of normalcy; it produced, instead, only remorse. Gene's fear of discovery menaced him more than the enemy, if, indeed, he had an enemy.

Certainly, *A Separate Peace* is well done. The writing is tight. The characters are real, though at times a bit too mature for their 17-18 years. Knowles' novel is not merely a report of an experience; rather, it is a way of experiencing. And that is always good literature.

THOMAS M. SHEEHAN

## FILMS

CAN-CAN (20th Century-Fox) is the picture which received an estimated \$1 million worth of free publicity last fall when Nikita Khrushchev denounced the can-can production number, performed for his benefit during his Hollywood visit, as indecent and something which would never be permitted on the Russian screen. The remarks establish the Soviet Premier as a singularly undependable judge of movie morality, even when due allowance is made for the fact that standards of decency are partially conditioned by national customs and conventions and differ widely from place to place.

The can-can number is comparatively tame and respectable by any standards, and I am quite sure that this is not because the dance was subsequently altered to meet the amateur film criticism of the Russian visitor. If the Premier had seen the Adam and Eve ballet that is also performed in the movie, his charge of suggestiveness in costuming and deportment would have had more substance.

As far as the picture itself is concerned, it is obviously an ambitious and expensive undertaking with a big-name cast and photography in Todd-AO, but it is sufficiently mediocre and lackluster to be able to use any extra publicity, even if said publicity is a little dubious.

The picture is based on a Broadway

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musical of several seasons ago that had a substandard Cole Porter score and an unusually silly plot. For the movie version most of the songs have been dropped and several earlier Porter tunes substituted, which is an improvement. Most of the plot has been dropped, too, which is also an improvement as far as it goes. Unfortunately it does not go far enough to provide the quite well-defined characters with anything of significance to do. As a result, stars Frank Sinatra, Shirley MacLaine, Louis Jourdan and Maurice Chevalier flounder around, even though expertly, like characters in search of an author. And the picture, which was trying very hard to be another *Gigi*, misses by a good country kilometer. [L of D: B]

**THE WIND CANNOT READ** (20th Century-Fox) is one of a number of British films that are being released over here by major American companies because of the domestic product shortage. This one has an overabundance of plot. It is about the World War II romance of a British flier (Dirk Bogarde) and a Japanese girl (Yoko Tani) who is working for the Allies in India. The romance is complicated beyond all endurance by racial intolerance, military red tape, enemy action and atrocities and, finally, a mysterious fatal malady.

The picture has been given a handsome Technicolor production with the Taj Mahal and other authentic backgrounds thrown in for good measure, and it has many individual sequences that are quite moving and perceptively drawn. Despite its plethora of incident, however, it has no decipherable point or point of view; it just flits with soap-opera-like aimlessness from crisis to crisis. [L of D: A-III]

**HELLER IN PINK TIGHTS** (*Paramount*) struck me as a travesty or burlesque of a western. There is a widely held theory in Hollywood, largely developed through bitter experience, that it is certain box-office death to burlesque a serious subject, because at least half the audience will miss the point.

Certainly if *Heller in Pink Tights* is not a joke, it is a very bad western. Taken in the right spirit, however, its account of the adventures of a raffish theatrical troupe is frequently hilarious. The troupe is beset by hostile Indians, gun-toting badmen and an intra-troupe tendency to double-cross one another. The members of the cast—Sophia Loren, Anthony Quinn, Steve Forrest, Margaret O'Brien, Eileen Heckart et al.—prove to have a flair for dead-pan comedy. In addition, the picture captures with sur-

prising authenticity the flavor of the theatrical entertainment our grandfathers used to like in the days before the movies. [L of D: A-III]

MOIRA WALSH

## THEATRE

**HENRY IV, PART I.** If William Shakespeare's ghost is hovering in the wings at the Phoenix these nights, he must be delighted by Stuart Vaughan's rendering of the historical drama of a dynastic war. In its over-all aspect the production is the most satisfying of your reviewer's experience. The royal roles may have been more vividly interpreted in the Old Vic production, but it is doubtful that any audience has ever seen a more appealing and peppery Hotspur than Donald Madden or a more comical and intelligible Falstaff than Eric Berry.

In most productions Falstaff is a buffoon exploited for comic relief. Mr. Vaughan has integrated the fat knight into the texture of the drama. The Falstaff at the Phoenix is not merely a corpulent clown; he has an important place in the story. And his mendacities rise from the absurdities of a pathological liar to the level of genuine humor. Your observer has a notion that the author intended it that way.

In the title role Fritz Weaver is impressive as the beleaguered king and harried father of a scapegrace son who shows no sign of being worthy of the succession. Edwin Sherin, as the wayward crown prince, is effectively flexible in a role that changes from playboy to gallant warrior. Nan Martin and Juliet Randall, as warriors' wives, and Gerry Jedd, Falstaff's feminine opposite, are deliciously tender, coquettish, or humorous, as their roles require.

Sets and costumes are credited to Will Steven Armstrong. He has made an important contribution to a beautiful production.

**CALIGULA**, by Nobel Prize author Albert Camus, is a drama that reminds us of Lord Acton's dictum that the will to power is the will to destruction and absolute power leads to self-destruction. It works out that way in the drama at the 54th Street Theatre. Chandler Cowles, Charles Bowden and Ridgely Bullock are the producers who hired Will Steven Armstrong to design the scenery and costumes. Direction was entrusted to Sidney Lumet. No better

men could have been found for the job.

The title character is remembered in history as an evil or, more charitably, insane Roman emperor. Grief-stricken by the death of his sister, who was also his mistress, he uses his authority as emperor to force his subjects to live up to the ideals they profess, on pain of punishment or death. Your observer, whose acquaintance with the works of Camus is rather slight, must confess that the meaning of the drama eludes him. Perhaps it is wrapped up in a sentence in the author's preface to the printed version of the play: "One cannot destroy everything without destroying one's self."

Whatever its meaning may be, *Caligula* holds one's attention with an iron grip. It is neither a true tragedy nor a truly poignant drama, but it has the fascination of a macabre spectacle of debauchery and lechery, of an im-

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promptu dance of death. As directed by Mr. Lumet and dressed up by Mr. Armstrong, it is a mighty colorful theatre piece.

Kenneth Haigh in the title role, Colleen Dewhurst as the emperor's mistress, and Philip Bourneuf as the emperor's opposition are beyond criticism in their respective roles. Given a less capable performance, *Caligula* would be wanting in dignity as well as obscure in meaning.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## THE WORD

*Lord, have mercy . . . Christ, have mercy . . . Lord, have mercy . . .* (The Kyrie of the Mass).

Since the prayers at the foot of the altar are the immediate preparation of priest and people for the sublime action that is the Mass, and since the Introit is the relic of the liturgical procession of clergy and laity to the place of the Sacrifice, there emerges a sense in which

the Kyrie, the great cry for mercy, stands as the initial prayer of the Mass itself.

As everyone understands, there is no divine decree as to the precise language in which the Mass must be said; almighty God is omnilingual. The language of the first Mass was Aramaic; then Greek came into use; finally, in the Western world, the tongue of both the Church and the Mass became Latin. Throughout the first four Christian centuries the Holy Sacrifice was offered only in the three languages of the inscription on the cross, but today the sacred Mysteries are celebrated in 12 different tongues, including such languages as Ethiopian, Armenian and Coptic.

The Kyrie is the only Greek that remains in our Western Mass. At the very least, this simple, eloquent plea ought to give us modern Catholics a recurrent sense of the antiquity or, better, the timelessness and universality of the faith which we hold.

It is evident that the Kyrie is a Trinitarian prayer. It consists of three sets of three invocations, the petition remaining always the same while the vocative changes as we address the individual

Persons of the blessed Trinity. We must recall a point of earliest Christian usage which is emphatic in St. Paul: the Greek *Kyrios* is a strictly divine appellation. When we are told, as in *Philippians*, that *every tongue must confess Jesus Christ as the Lord, dwelling in the glory of God the Father*, there is no ambiguity about what Paul is saying: men must acknowledge the literal divinity of Christ. In the Kyrie God the Father is *Lord*, the Holy Spirit is *Lord*, and Christ is equated with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

This first petition of the Mass is generic, but it is unquestionably humble and lowly. As has so often been noted, Holy Mother Church never for an instant loses her balance in her dealings with Omnipotence; she never forgets that God is all and we are nothing. The creature can never afford to give himself airs and strut before the Godhead, treating the Creator as an equal, least of all on the threshold of the august Sacrifice of expiation for human sin. The repeated cry for mercy comes aptly in the forepart of the Mass.

Curiously, though, the Kyrie never conveys the impression of feebleness. It is a strong and mighty cry, and we need not doubt or question its sovereign power. It is worth an effort of the imagination to picture a dark day—which, please God, will never dawn—when not a single Mass would be offered in the whole round and circle of the earth. Hear for a fearful moment the desperate and ominous silence which would then take the place of the crashing chorus of *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*. Is there anyone so rash and hardy as to suppose that such a black, blank day would not be, in the words of the funeral liturgy, *dies irae, dies miseriae et calamitatis* (a day of wrath, a day of misery and calamity)?

We all wonder, periodically, what keeps our world functioning at all as it staggers drunkenly from crisis to crisis and reels stupidly (and willfully) from folly to ever more grotesque folly. Anyone may offer his own answer to the question. Perhaps it is the daily Sacrifice of the Mass, offered on so many altars in so many places, that holds our world together. Perhaps it is really because of each day's Kyrie that God does each day *have mercy on us*.

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